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FIVE THOUSAND YEARS OF PAKISTAN

by

R. E. M. WHEELER

PREFACE BY HON'BLE FAZLUR RAHMAN

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FIVE THOUSAND YEARS OF PAKISTAN

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LAHORE FORT, THE "NAULAKHA" SEEN FROM THE SHISH MAHAL (HALL OF MIRRORS). See p. 80
About A.D. 1632

FIVE THOUSAND YEARS OF PAKISTAN

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL OUTLINE

BY

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PREFACE

THIS book has been compiled for the purpose of presenting both to Pakistan and to the outside world a brief sketch of the imposing material heritage of Pakistan in the form of ancient buildings, sites and cultures prior to the death of the Emperor Aurangzēh in A.D. 1707. In quantity, in range and in quality, this heritage is one of which the new Dominion may be justly proud. It includes one of the great civilizations of Asia—the Indus Civilization of the third and second millennia B.C.—it shares with the borderland of Afghanistan the primary glory of that remarkable and individual Buddhist art which flowered there to and after the second century A.D.—the lively spontaneity of East Bengal endowed it in the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. with a school of vivid terracotta sculpture unapproached, of its kind, south of the Himālayas. Its achievements after the arrival of Islam, extending from the tiled mosques of Tatta to the Moghul fortress of Lahore and the *Chhotā Shāh Masjid* of Gaur are more widely familiar. The story of these things is worth the telling and re-telling, in every school and university of the land. The heritage of Pakistan must be kept alive if the future is to grow strongly and healthily out of it. It will be no good to tie new leaves on to a dead tree.

In the preparation of this book Dr. Wheeler has asked me to acknowledge the help of the Archaeological Department of Pakistan and in particular, the notes supplied by Mr. A. H. Dani with reference to East Pakistan, together with the kindness of Professor A. B. A. Hasem, Vice-Chancellor of Sind University in reading through the West Pakistan section, and of Professor Stuart Piggott in permitting the use of unpublished material in chapters 2 and 4. Lastly, all gratitude is due to the Royal India and Pakistan Society which is associated with the Government of Pakistan in the work of production.

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Minister of Commerce and Education, Government of Pakistan

KARACHI, 1949

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INTRODUCTORY

THE title of this little book is a wide paradox but contains a fundamental truth.

Pakistan is a new Islamic state but is nevertheless like its dear neighbours, a product of historical processes of which Islam itself is only the most recent and emphatic. In reviewing these processes, the modern historian and archaeologist first to geography and geology. How far did nature act alone and control the activities of man which have culminated in the new Dominion?

In West Pakistan the answer is not difficult. The natural boundaries are the Arabian Sea in the south-west, the Hinduistan and Himalayan mountains in the west and north and the Thar or desert in the south-east. Only towards the east, between the desert and the Himalayas, is there an open fertile tract upwards of two thousand miles wide where the great plains of northern India continue unbroken into the West Punjab. There alone are broad areas indeterminate in a geographical sense and there alone is man completely master of his destiny. Otherwise West Pakistan is marked out as an integral unit in terms of nature that is plain.

Its backbone is the river system of the Indus which aided by artifice is capable of fertilizing vast tracts of good alluvial soil. The flanking hills rise sharply from the river-plain to the Iran-Afghan plateau and their outline still dominates as for many centuries it has delimited two essentially different social systems: the semi-nomadic peoples of the heights from the settled population of the vale. The two societies, however, are not without common interests. Seasonal movement from the upland to the lowland is still a factor in the social structure of the region as when the Baluch folk come down with their tents and animals and flocks in the winter to trade their labour with the ploughmen. And, more than 4,000 years ago there is already evidence for the intrusion of a variety of little hill communities into a strikingly uniform lowland civilization.

But apart from this local interaction there has been at all times a considerable long-distance traffic, whether peaceful or warlike, between the lowland of what is now Pakistan and the hinterland of Asia. In the north caravans or invaders have converged on the vale of Peshāwar from three directions: from the Indus valley, from the North Indian plains, and from Central or Western Asia. Not is that all. Supplementary routes approach the Indus via Quetta and Kalat and along the coastal tracts beside the Arabian sea, whilst a considerable and important maritime trade with the West has debouched upon the Indus delta and there fed and been fed by, the Indus valley route. The far-reaching effect of all this traffic in the diffusion not only of goods but also of ideas and populations will be considered in later chapters.

The agricultural development of the Indus region in modern times has been impeded by the meagreness of the rainfall. In contrast the abundance of ancient sites, representing a widespread food-producing population seems to imply that formerly the climate was appreciably moister, and as visual evidence of this we have the lifelike representations of jungle animals—tiger, elephant, rhinoceros, water-buffalo—on the walls of the great prehistoric Indus Civilization (below p. 20) together with actual bones of some of them. Further the use of millions of baked bricks by that Civilization implies that anciently these were needed, in preference to unbaked mud bricks, to withstand the rigours of a relatively rainy climate,

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FIG. 1

and their very existence indicates a great abundance of firewood for their baking. It has been inferred that the cyclopes, who at one time watered considerable tracts of North Africa, Mesopotamia and northern India, have moved northward and, thus, changed the climate from rainy to dry. Alternatively, it has been supposed that the area of the south-western monsoon at one time included the Indian valley but has shifted eastward within the last two or three thousand years.

One or other of these explanations is likely enough, but is probably not the whole truth. Man himself is doubtless responsible in part for the change. The deliberate destruction of ancient towns and villages by their human enemies, and the obliteration of their crops and trees, must itself have resulted in the precipitation of rain and, increased the salinity and sourness of the soil, gradually converting the time tidage into semi-desert. Furthermore, the removal

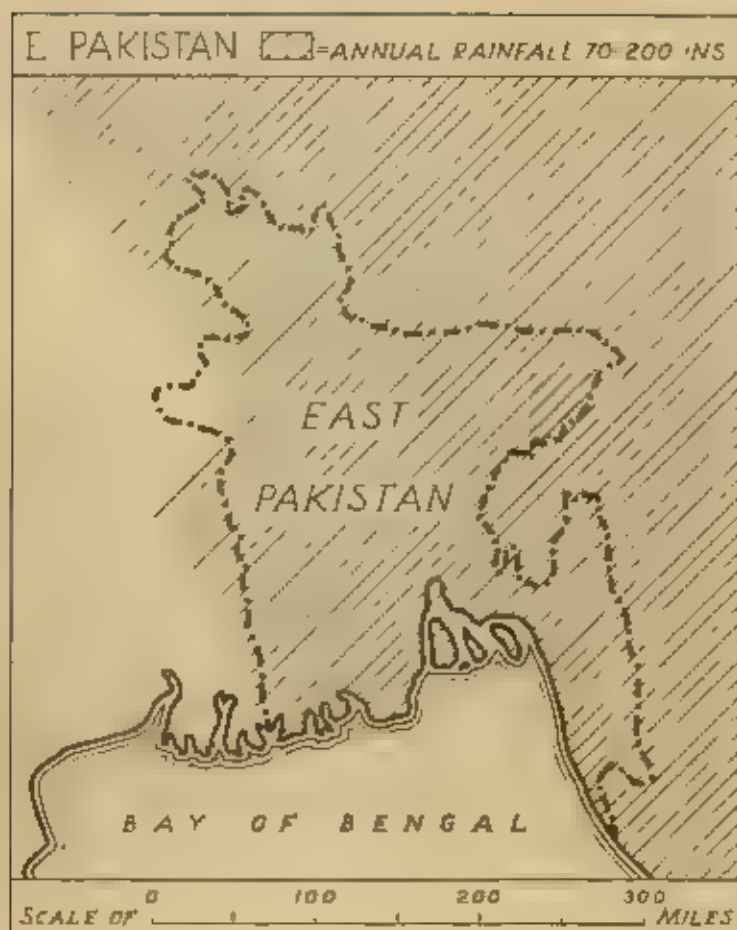


FIG. 2

of vegetation has exposed the surface of the land to the weather and has induced the widespread soil erosion which is one of the serious problems of the present day. Broad shallow excavation at Mahendragiri and elsewhere has revealed that the actual water level below the present surface of the river in its valley has risen some 10-15 feet during the last 4,000 years. In various ways man and nature have combined from age to age to vary materially the aspect of the countryside of West Pakistan, even in the comparatively brief period with which this survey mainly deals.

Similarly the visitor to East Pakistan (East Bengal) can only reconstruct the history and archaeology of that region with a constant regard to climate and landscape. He will find there, however, a more difficult and subtle problem than in the western part of the Dominion. Save for a distance of 70 miles where the sea front is followed for a few miles, the partition is based on geological rather than geographical lines. Here human ideas and needs rather than natural obstacles have been the determining factor. But, even so, the inadaptability of East Pakistan

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has not been unaided by nature. It is no accident that East Pakistan's western boundary approximates to that of heaviest rainfall as defined by the 70-inch line—a figure which may be contrasted with the 10-inch maximum of most of West Pakistan (Fig. 1). In other words, the rainfall of East Bengal ranges from 70 to 200 inches or more a year and is therefore the largest in the Indian sub-continent save for a narrow strip down the south-west coast. The remoteness of the region in more remote times from the Islamic metropolises at Delhi was thus magnified anciently by prolonged floods which barred the countryside and crisscrossed its communications with dense jungle. Under these conditions sustained long range control was beyond the normal capacity of the *rashidun*, rulers of the western plains—even under the determined Khalid bin al-Walid of Delhi. A.D. 636-87; three successive large-scale expeditions were necessary to reach a rebellious governor and the third expedition, led by the sultan himself, was constantly brought to a standstill for days at a time by the rains. At the same time the Muslim manpower available to Delhi was never adequate to bridge the vast gap in a more permanent footing. Muslim Bengal accordingly developed to a large extent in isolation, and it has preserved that isolation substantially to the present day. Moreover it developed under local conditions very different from those of the *Jumla*—*dar*—*gates*—*doab*, conditions which it is not easy for the western eye to visualize. We have to remember that since the end of the twelfth century when Islam readily replaced the dominant Brahmanic (and later Brahmaism) of these parts, the aspect of East Bengal has been transformed in drastic fashion. Cities such as the Pala Pattakera, which was discovered during the recent war of the Mahamati-Lalmai ridge near Comilla, have reverted to jungle elsewhere whole tracts have been cleared and brought into cultivation. The great river-system of the Ganges and Brahmaputra varies its multiple course from monsoon to monsoon. At any given moment of the past, deliberate effort is necessary to recover the tickle landscape which has shaped, or been shaped, by its varied history. And yet it be re-emphasized that through all these changes down to modern times, the factor of climate has more than any other conditioned the personality of this distant island of India. There lies the special fascination of East Pakistan's Islamic history and archaeology. Few historical phenomena are of greater interest than this transplantation of a culture born of the desert into an environment essentially of the jungle.

At the same time few historical phenomena can so eloquently illustrate the limitations of a purely materialistic outlook on history. Where every variation of geography, physiography, climate and race combines to stress the separateness of West and East Pakistan, the transcendental character unites them to a common ideology, a common way of life. A Muslim Punjab can enter the house of a Muslim Bengali and feel instantly at home. He is in the midst of a far bar discipline and that of a far similar latitude of climate. Desert and jungle are after all accidents of the same basic earth.

PART I. WEST PAKISTAN

I. THE BEGINNING

ALTHOUGH the presence of mankind in what is now Pakistan cannot yet be traced backwards continuously for much more than 5,000 years, it would have been in a sense excusable to omit this handbook 500,000 years of Pakistan. For if the calculations of modern science are correct, it is to that remote age that we may ascribe the earliest human-made implements discovered within the territory of the state. Of their makers here half-a-million years ago we know indeed very little. No human skeleton of this distant antiquity has yet been discovered in Pakistan, and certain stone remains of fossil anthropoid apes which have been found in the Himalayan foothills do not help us. True, these fossil-apes exhibit certain features more akin to man than does the skeletal structure of any ape of the present day, but the most that we can say of them is that they are remote derivatives from the common stock from which primeval man was also derived. Pending further discovery, the earliest human inhabitants of Pakistan are represented for us only by crudely-chipped stone tools which nevertheless occupy an important place in the archaeology of Asia.

The full understanding of these ancient times involves a highly technical study of their geological setting, which lies outside the scope of the present book. Suffice it to say that they belong to an age when the climate and the landscape differed materially from those of the present day, to an age when from time to time the snow-caps of the Himalayas spread downwards under arctic conditions towards the plains and then in milder phase retreated once more into the highland fastnesses. These arctic periods are known as periods of "glaciation," and the intervening phases of warm or temperate climate are known as "interglacial periods." During the long era which they cover it is thought by geologists that there were five of these glacial periods or "ice ages" in Northern India separated by four interglacials. A comparable succession has been more closely defined in Europe, whilst in the tropics both of India and of Africa it is supposed (though this is less certain) that periods of intense rainfall, known as "pluvials," correspond with the glacials of the north.

In Pakistan, the region which has been most carefully explored in regard to these matters is the Rawalpindi district. There in the valley of the river Sohan or Soan certain of the "terraces" which have been cut by the river in the material deposited by the melting ice-field during interglacial phases have yielded rough stone implements of more than one kind. The most ancient have been recovered from deposits belonging to the beginning of the Second or "Great" Interglacial of the system just mentioned; they consist of crude flakes, pebbles struck from large pebbles of quartzite and are often to the untrained eye indistinguishable from the works of nature. Archaeologists have named them "Pre-Sohan," to distinguish them from the better-defined implements which were produced later in and after the same geological phase and are found in several river terraces and other deposits in northern Pakistan.

These later implements represent a very long period of time—perhaps from 40,000 to 200,000 years ago. Age after age very slowly improved or modified their workmanship, but they are sufficiently homogeneous to justify their grouping in terms of a single industry, to

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which archaeologists have given the name "Neolithic" (New Stone Age). This has been divided into an early phase and a late one, the latter of which is referred to as the Tamarisk or the Frontier Interphase. The ideal tool has been described as a "chopper" (pl. III, a) its most primitive form it is struck by means of a stone hammer from a prepared surface with a flat preparation of the usual flat platform from which such flaking is customarily effected, and finally has a deep scalloped cutting edge worked on the side only. Other choppers are made from rock flakes with a very angled striking platform and are in some degree comparable with the earliest so-called "flake-man" flaked implements of Europe. The true significance of this new discovery is doubtful. Not what was at a copper and stone age in Britain, Malay, Java and China and the whole may perhaps be regarded as a distinctly South and East Asian group having affinities in relationship with the West. In the late Neolithic period there was a marked improvement in technique particularly in the trimming of the "core" of primary and possibly secondary flake which was struck off.

Alongside the "flake-chopper" industry of the Soan region is found though in relatively small quantities another less fully developed kind. In this type of implement is shaped in the core itself not a dorsal surface and the difference is an important one. The characteristic core tool is a so-called "hand-axe" (pl. III, a) pear-shaped or oval implement formed by weathering with a rough original stone flake and a half inch of stone worn or bored until the desired shape and a certain as cutting edge are achieved. The hand-axe occurs freely in South India and the industry to which it belongs has therefore been named the "Mugur" Industry. It is similar to the so-called "Acheul" Industry of Western Europe, Arabia and Africa but any close equation between the two is highly dangerous, is in fact largely theoretical. It is worth noting that comparative studies have been made by the Indian Museum of Asia and the Soan and it is significant that implements are found occasionally at all stages of the Soan culture, not only at Chattri in the Punjab but also from the Late Soan phase, one of the most developed forms and were probably shaped by means of wooden rather than stone hammers as were the later hand-axes of the West.

Of what sort were the makers of these simple stone tools and what was their way of life? At present we do not know. Not only have we failed to discover their settlements, but all that is left of them is a few bone beads and here which may be assumed to have been produced in their culture and varied likewise. In Europe and elsewhere it has been supposed that the makers of these tools were men of an aspect not unlike our own, while the makers of flake tools, on the other hand were the primitive-looking and generally of later date. Before we apply these observations to Pakistan it may be noted that Pakistan archaeologists and geologists will continue in a search amongst the most famous of the West Punjab and the Frontier Province for the first evidence not only a certainly awaits them there. The discovery of the bones of the ancient tool-makers of the Soan would attract a world-wide interest and would help to fill a very large gap in our knowledge of our earliest forefathers.

2. THE PREHISTORIC VILLAGES OF THE WESTERN HILLS

It is assumed that the primitive flake was as described in the previous chapter long ages ago made by the makers and hand-axes despite the rivers of the Punjab were hunters and food-gatherers with no other tasks to perform. What was their way of life? The beginning of the continuous story of man in Pakistan some 5000 years ago we have now

THE PREHISTORIC VILLAGES OF THE WESTERN HILLS

already established in however rudimentary a fashion, both as herdsman and as farmer. He was living in permanent villages set in the little valleys amongst the hills or occasionally on the great river plain itself. He had cattle, sheep and goats and even horses, although these need not appear to have been numerous until a later period. He grew barley and other crops and within available limits was an adequate living for himself and his family under conditions which, even with a milder climate than today, can never have been easy. It must partly have been the difficulty of procuring the supplies necessary for commerce that restricted his interests mainly to his own valley and surrounding hills and limited his contacts with his neighbours. Certain it is that these villages or village groups present a baffling variety of local features, their craftsmanship and only a few of their individual features can be touched on here.

And yet this very diversity presents a challenge to Pakistan archaeologists. Hitherto the investigation of this widespread village life has been fragmentary and unsystematic. Under the new conditions of the present time it is worthy of more methodical attention. For imbedded in it and awaiting rediscovery are the clues to important human relationships that will one day enable us to reconstruct the true position of Pakistan in that vital phase of growth and experiment which culminated in the great civilizations of ancient Mesopotamia on the one hand and of the Indus valley on the other.

To the Iranian Civilization we shall come in the next chapter. Meanwhile the busy village life which antiquated and in some measure not yet clear contributions to it demands a summary survey. Geographically its focus is the Iranian Plateau, of which the Baluchistan Hills form the rugged eastern escarpment.

The Iranian Plateau is on an average, 3,000-5,000 feet above the sea level. It consists of stretches of somewhat stony plain broken by sharp, jagged mountain-ranges rising occasionally from 2,000-4,000 feet above it and, at suitable seasons, providing useful local watersheds. Since the Middle Ages and perhaps much earlier it has been customary to tap the subterranean water at the base of these mountains for irrigation by underground canals cut from a succession of vertical shafts and this *karez* or *kanaat* system can be seen within the boundaries of Pakistan near Quetta and elsewhere. In the spring when the melting snows flood the lower lands, the plateau leaps to life, and its fruits and crops turn it momentarily into a land of plenty. There is thus every incentive to the peasant nucleus of the population to remain and develop parochially within its own territories. At the same time alongside this static element is the restless life of the neighbouring hill-folk with their flocks and their seasonal migrations between upland and lowland. The Luristan occupants of this great tract thus constitute a mingling of elements of little cultural importance and a farming peasantry of greater interest, living in hill-divided settlements.

In these circumstances it is not surprising to find that, between 5000 and 3000 B.C. and later the Plateau communities while sharing a fairly uniform standard of equipment and social economy, presented in detail that complex variety to which reference has already been made. Above all their domestic and funerary pottery differed considerably in skin and character from place to place and it is primarily therefore by a careful and somewhat tedious examination of their pottery that the archaeologist is able to rediscover something of their occasional conventions and interrelations. Indeed in no phase of human society is it truer to describe pottery as the *alphabet of archaeology*.

At the beginning of this period before 4000 B.C. it is probable that all these various Plateau groups were still living in the Stone Age i.e. they had not yet acquired a sufficient

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knowledge of utile metals such as copper and tin to use them rather than stone for the manufacture of tools and weapons. By the end of the period, i.e. 3000 B.C., copper and tin were known and their uses known. Some of the copper and tin was passing into the Mesopotamian Bronze Age. Iron was still unknown. Even considerably later than 3000 B.C. however many civilizations were still too poor to be identifying to make any extensive use of copper or of tin, and the great majority of their implements remained of the traditional stone, wood, bone or horn.

These ancient civilizations we shall return. First it is necessary to refer to certain major developments which form an exception to what has just been said as to the general slowness and passiveness of the present location of the Plateau. Some were to wait a long time if the fault is being made there occurred, one of those folk movements which from time to time and from a variety of causes are known to affect even a relatively static population and to set it in motion. At that time a geographical change was taking place to the west of the Plateau in the vicinity of Euphrates what is now the lower valley of the Tigris-Euphrates system was gradually silted up and off the trajectory of fertile alluvium where previously sea and salt had prevailed. Into this process and it would appear some of the Plateau folk under some unknown stimulus found their way. The ruins have been discovered near the Plateau at Susa in south-western Iran and at Ur and Uruk in Iraq traces of their and of the reed boats in which they lived have been found at the lowest marshy level. At first the new environment must have been difficult and irksome to a people accustomed to the dry stony highlands but it is possible that as in other periods of history and prehistory temporary difficulty provides an incentive rather than an obstacle to effort. Be that as it may the Mesopotamian estuary offered in fact an the major pre-conditions for the production of city life or what is the same thing civilization. It provided a fertile soil, water easy river transport, unimpeded caravan routes and to these natural qualities were now added those of an industrious and disciplined people. At a long interval the earliest cities of Asia came into being. The foundations were laid of that great Sumerian civilization which was to be, in some measure, the prototype of the civilization of the Indus.

It is probable and natural that the path of this urban development in Mesopotamia was not altogether a smooth one. In the course of it we can recognize changes suddenly abrupt and extensive to suggest interruption and the advent of influences from new directions probably outside Iran possibly from the direction of Asia Minor. We are not here concerned in any detail with the Mesopotamian problem, and need not discuss this matter further. But it may be that a temporary obstruction to Iranian enterprise towards the West encouraged the use of routes towards the East towards Pakistan. And it would be logical to see in such a movement from the Plateau to the Pakistan plain a repetition of the previous movement to Mesopotamia with parallel results in the creation of another great riverine civilization that of the Indus valley. The most serious objection at present to this supposition is that whereas the cultures of the west Iranian Plateau resemble that of early Susa and Ur the equivalent cultures of the east Iranian Plateau or Baluchistan cannot yet be linked up closely with that of the Indus civilization. A few examples of these Baluchistan cultures may here be briefly described.

These cultures are generally discovered on and in artificial mounds to which the Arabs give the name of *tell* the equivalent of the Swedish *dun* the North-west Frontier *dheri* the Baluch *dumb* or the Iranian *tepe*. The *tell* (the term most widely used, accumulates as the result of the successive rebuilding of a city, town or village, each successive structure being

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erected on the remains of its predecessor so that age by age the mounds rose upon its own dead self. The free use of mud or mud brick for walling contributes to this process until a tell may tower to a height of 100 feet or more above the surrounding country. It is by the careful excavation of these mounds and the classification of their contents layer by layer that the cultural succession is ascertained, the layers forming as it were the leaves of a book of an written history. Little work of this kind has yet been done in Pakistan outside the main centres of the Indus Civilization, but a beginning has been made on a few of the mounds and their importance is clearly such that every care should be taken of them pending their adequate examination. In part war the widespread modern custom of turning upon them an thus permanently preventing access is one which in the interests of knowledge should be rigorously checked.

In recent years archaeologists have begun to classify the known cultures from these mounds and have grouped them into two main categories. The grouping is founded upon the fact, observed first in Iran, that the more northerly cultures are characterized by the normal use of a red background and to the painted designs of their pottery whereas the more southerly cultures are characterized by the normal use of a buff or yellow background. At first sight this seems a trivial distinction upon which to base a scientific classification, but in practice it is useful in the present elementary state of knowledge.

Applying this primary distinction with the place-names of certain sites where exploration has been carried out Professor Stuart Piggott who owes much to straighten out the available information has proposed the following categories:

A. Buff-Ware Cultures

1. The Quetta Culture (from sites in the Bolan Pass).
2. The Amri-Nal Culture (from two sites, the first in Sind, the second at the head of the Nal valley in Baluchistan).
3. The Kuli Culture (from a site in Kolwa in South Baluchistan).

B. Red-Ware Cultures

4. The Zhob Cultures (from sites in the Zhob valley of North Baluchistan).

All this is somewhat dry and technical, but only a fuller knowledge can of the it with persons and a few notes on each of the main Cultures may be made, therefore less for their current interest than as a basis for future fieldwork and research.

The Quetta Culture (fig. 1) discovered by Professor Piggott is best represented on five small village mounds (the largest 600 feet long and 40-50 feet high) near Quetta, but there is evidence that it extends southwards also towards Kalat. The pottery is painted in a geometric style in purplish-brown or black paint on a buff ground, with occasional fragments of fine shaw bowls of very hard grey ware having black-painted ornaments. The designs include chevrons formed by combining thick and thin bands, an overall pattern made of diagonally divided squares, pairs of opposed triangles and various distinctive stepped and oval motifs. The buff ware of the culture is comparable with very early pottery at Tula Baktin (Persepolis) and Susa in southern Iran and may be the earliest yet identified in Pakistan, probably before 3000 B.C. The sites of this little known culture are well worthy of examination.

For the Amri-Nal Culture (fig. 3) it is more difficult to find Iranian parallels. Indeed these two sites and others which may at present be grouped loosely with them are themselves far from homogeneous in detail, and their partnership may have to be dissolved as

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[illegible][illegible]

An important feature of these possible futures is that at Xuri at least, it seems as if it has been found some of it early water uses the very same the Indians use. On the other side of the divide some of the upper part of the divide is really a very different type of a future, a future overlap between the two. There is a water use even though that the Xuri and the other side of the divide is a future of the future. It represents a future of the future, a future which is a future, the environment of water, the future of the future, a future of the future.

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FIG. 3.—PREHISTORIC CULTURES OF WEST PAKISTAN

Not to scale. (From Stuart Piggott in Ancient India, No. 1)

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seen in the an-lary rows of distinctive very narrow girths'. The background is often fired except over rows, with conventionalized lions and peacocks, all with a red or orange glaze. The ornament of the pedestal at the even line suggests a further simplification of the Chalybeated scroll, but it is the absence of influence from that civilization. Examples of this type are found on pottery from excavations and settlements in the Harappan area of Punjab, Multan and again in Sistan and suggest a connection between the three regions, whilst a more general relationship has been noted with the 'Susa-like' 'Susa Ware' from Susa and the neighbouring of Baghdad (about 2500 B.C.).

Other objects illustrating this culture include copper pins, as with a head of lapis lazuli, beads of agate and lapis lazuli, copper plectrums, one of them (from Moh) with a remarkable handle representing a stylized female figure - copper and clay bracelets, nativity and plectrums for grinding corn and chert blades.

The people represented by the Harappan culture are known to have lived in houses with walls built sometimes of rubble set in mud mortar and sometimes of squares of baked bricks. The upper structure might be of mud bricks. The walls were occasionally painted frequently, faced internally with white plaster and the floors might be of stone slabs or of wood. The rooms which have been excavated are small 12 feet by 8 feet or less, and were in some cases windowless and dark. At Moh half part of a stone staircase was used. At Moh there was evidence of cremation burial with a pot and with it. The appearance of some at least of the female figurines is indicated by the clay figurines to which reference has been made. On these figurines, which are at the waist in pedestal form, the arms are usually represented akimbo, the face is squeezed out into a bird-like form with applied pellets for eyes and the hair is elaborately dressed with plait curls and ornaments. Circular ornaments are worn over the ears and heavy strings of beads are often represented across the breast whilst bangles are shown on the wrists and up the left arm, recalling the famous bronze dancing girl of Mohenjodaro (p. 111). In gold dress at least the Harappans of the first and of the third millennium B.C. were gaily bedecked.

Passing from Northern Baluchistan to the north and north-east of Quetta we come to the fourth and last of our culture groups, that which is represented in and about the *Zhetysay* type. Here although the Ware is a different type to that in which we are essentially in the Harappan province of our adopted classification. The best known site in this area is that of Rana Ghundai, a tell some 40 feet high and 470 yards in circumference situated about eight miles east of Loralai. Steady destruction by villagers has revealed the stratification of the mound sufficiently to enable an intelligent observer to recover the main sequence of the site, although this happy accident cannot be held to justify the removal of a chapter of Pakistan's prehistory to a summary of a fashion.

The earliest occupants of the site were apparently nomadic herdsmen who left hearths but no houses and lived with their flocks of domestic sheep, asses and even horses. Their pottery was made without the potter's wheel and was almost entirely unpainted and they had chert knives but seemingly no metal. After a considerable lapse of time they were succeeded by a people who built houses with boulder footings and produced excellent wheel made pottery ranging in colour from buff to dark brown. On it they painted black figures of line stylized and painted birds and black black together with a considerable range of geometric patterns. The typical pot-shape of the period is a narrow footed or pedestal-shaped bowl. Both shape and decoration are comparable with those of early pottery from Rana Ghundai sites of north-eastern Persia (notably Hissar) and it is likely that the second Rana Ghundai culture should be ascribed to a date considerably before 2000 B.C. At the type site it lasted no great length of time and was followed after an interval by a third and more enduring culture in some degree derivative from its predecessor but

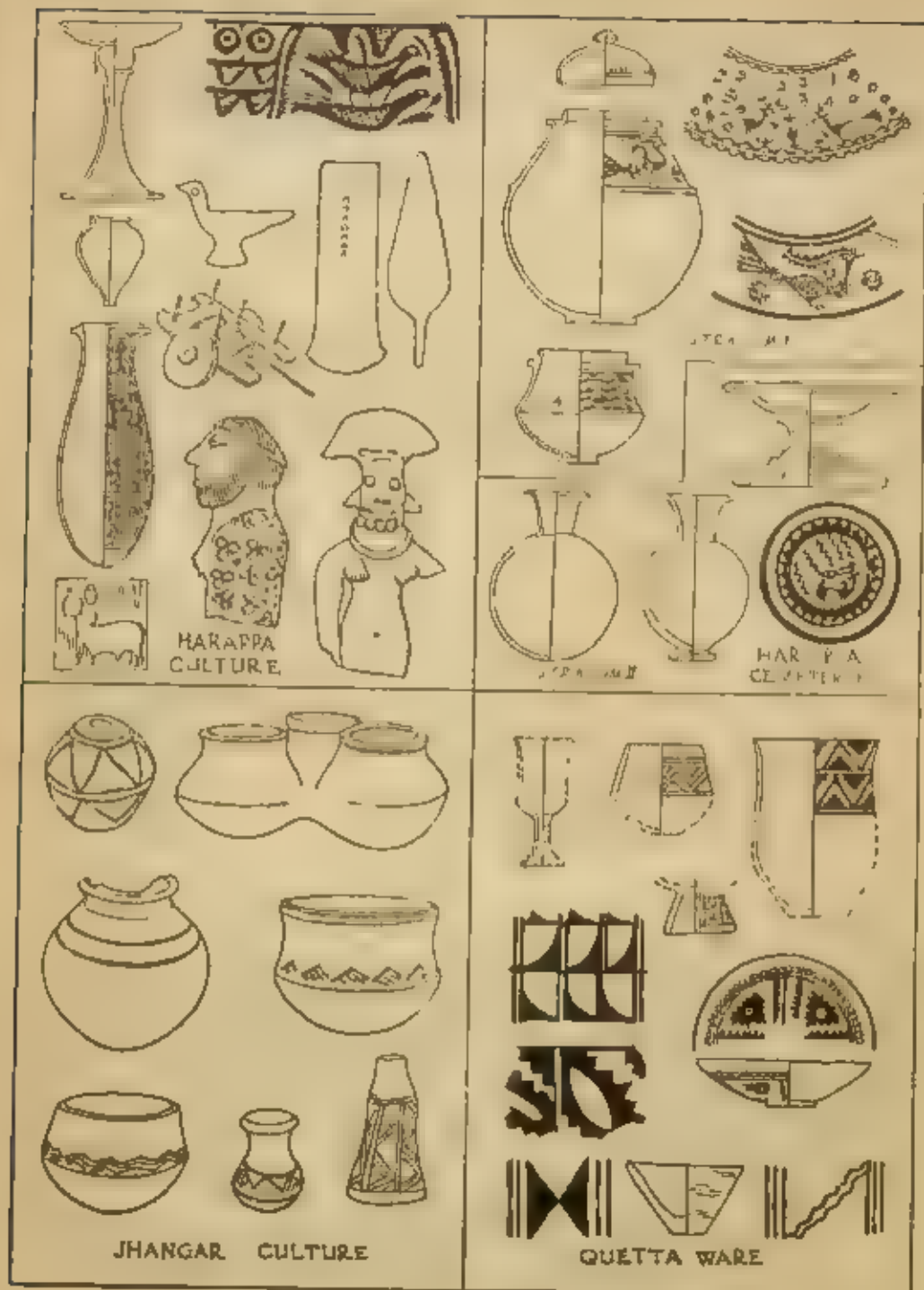


FIG 4 - PREHISTORIC CULTURES OF WEST PAKISTAN

Not to scale. (Stuart Piggott)

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showing a decrease in the fineness of the setting and laceration. The new patterns adhered to their colour scheme and used it even for the normal red-on-black ware. A characteristic pot form was a small jar set on a pedestal-foot. Small alabaster cups occur in related sites of this culture, together with beads of lapis lazuli and inert paints. Metals are rare but a copper cup and a copper ring and ring are recovered.

This third phase is represented by three successive burning-levels and was evidently of considerable duration. It seems to have ended in flames, though it was perhaps an over-estimate. It was succeeded by a new settlement associated with a completely different equipment including large bowls of coarse ware with applied strips or cordons and with loose floral designs painted in brown, blue or purplish red. After this, though occupation continued on the site for some considerable time, a painted pottery season.

The great advantages of excavation prevented the recovery of any house plans from these various deposits but a note may be made on the terracotta figurines which, in related sites, appear to belong to the third phase of Rana Ghundai and to be assemblable in groups to the third millennium B.C. These terracotta figurines are of various shapes, possibly a horse and, above all, a series of remarkably female figures which, like those of the Harappan Culture and at the same time small pedestals and are adorned with necklaces. In other respects, Professor Pigott contrasts them with the well-known series: "The faces are usually, if not hooded, with a chin or shawl; they have high arched foreheads above their staring circular eye-holes; their weak nose and grim set mouth. The result is terrifying. Whatever may be some of the Harappan figurines, these can hardly be toys but seem to be a grim embodiment of the most evil goddess who is said to be the guardian of the dead—an underworld deity concerned alike with the corpse and the soon-to-be buried beneath the earth."

But it is time to turn from these small and miscellaneous communities to that which whilst bearing a basic resemblance to them transcended them all in political imagination and discipline and in economic success to the famous Indus Civilization of about 2500-1500 B.C.

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BETWEEN the years 2500 and 1500 B.C. it would have been possible to travel from remote Sukkur, near the shores of the Arabian Sea over 300 miles west of Karachi, to the village of Rāpār at the foot of the Sulaiman Range—a distance of 1,000 miles—and to see on all sides men living in various degrees the same mode of life, making the same kind of pots and tools and ornaments and possibly administered by the same government. This widespread unity which spanned time and in space presents a very different picture from the kaleidoscope of little societies which we have just been examining in the neighbouring hill tracts. And the difference is emphasized and partly explained when our travels take us past two great cities of a kind, hitherto unparalleled in these parts. One of them lies beside the Indus 200 miles north-east of Karachi, at a spot which came to be known later as Mohenjodaro—the Hill of the Dead—the other 400 miles further on stands near the little Panipat town of Harappa beside a former course of the Ravi tributary of the Indus. Here the art of living in cities, in other words civilization had come into being and had co-ordinated human effort on a geographical scale never produced in prehistoric times. Since its discovery in 1921 the now famous Indus Civilization has rightly ranked amongst the great civilizations of the ancient world.

Almost all the known remains of this civilization lie within the limits of West Pakistan

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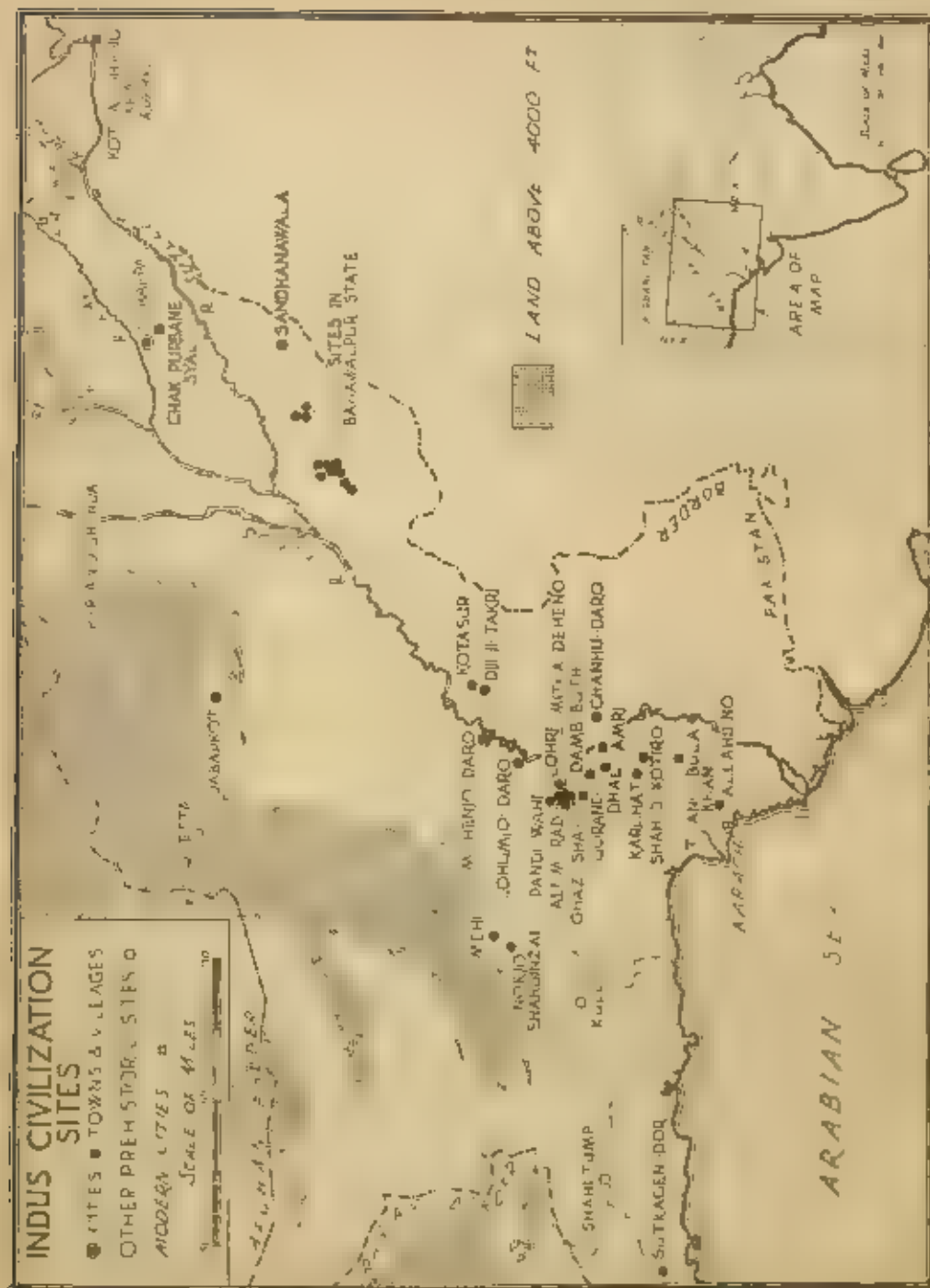


Fig. 5

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(fig. 2) That is a circumstance of which the new Dominion may be proud. It gives, indeed, a sort of historicity to Pakistan itself, to our history-consciousness. At the same time it presents the Pakistan Government with a special responsibility of which it is well aware, as the custodian of the relics of an outstanding epoch of human civilization. Mohenjodaro is today one of the most spectacular of all excavated cities, and well repays the arduous journey to its site. Let us in imagination make that journey when the city was still standing in its prime, some 4,000 years ago, before time and the Indus flood have bitten at it.

Instead of approaching the city, as we do today, amidst arid and dusty tamarisk bushes, we may suppose that we are passing through irrigated lands which, in their season, bear crops of wheat and barley, sesamum and fish, pease and a species of rice. Even a cotton-patch may add variety to the busy scene, at any rate, cotton is certainly known to the Indian citizens. As we draw near to the suburbs we pass a cemetery where, in the analogy of Harappa, might be large mounds raised for burials and, like those of a Muslim graveyard, indicate the resting place of the city forefathers. Behind and beyond them, smoking kulas begin to meet the eye, some for the baking of pottery, others for firing the millions of baked bricks used in the construction and reconstruction of the city's buildings and defences. And so we come at last to the great city itself, with its close-set houses and teeming streets.

We find that the city falls into two somewhat distinct parts, a lower and an upper. The latter, towards the western outskirts, is an oblong mound, 400 yards from north to south and 200 yards from east to west, and massively fortified. If for the present purpose we transfer to Mohenjodaro the better known details of the equivalent mound at Harappa, we shall see that the fortifications of this citadel, for thus it may be described, stand upon a bank or *bund*—designed to protect the base of the defences from the floods which we know to have broken through occasionally into the town. Merchants from the distant city of Uruk in Mesopotamia could tell us that their own native city walls stood in part upon a similar protective foundation. On the Harappa Mohenjodaro *bund* rises a thick wall of unbaked brick 40 feet wide but tapering upwards to a height of 30 or 40 feet, and faced on the outside by a skin of baked brick to protect it from the monsoon rains. At intervals along it rectangular towers project, and the corners in particular are heavily reinforced in this manner. In the northern end the walls turn inward to flank a long approach up into the interior and (at Harappa, at any rate) other gates on the western side give access to external terraces designed for ceremonial.

Within the walls the building level of the citadel is raised 30 feet above the plain by an artificial platform of masonry of earth and baked brick, and on this platform, amongst buildings of a more normal sort, stands a series of remarkable structures which we assume to be connected with the civic administration, whether secular or religious or both. One of these buildings contains a well-built tank which probably serves a ritual function (pl. V a). Another with solid construction and cloistered court, is obviously the residence of a high official, possibly the high priest himself, or perhaps rather a college of priests. Yet another is a large pillared hall designed obviously for ceremony or conference. It is clear enough that this upper layer of urban and monumental structures, crowning from its pedestal upon the town below, represents the stern masterful rule of which the lower city also constantly reminds us.

Before descending from the citadel, however, let us climb upon the eastern battlements and survey the lower city from above. At our feet we see the houses and shops str streaming for a mile towards the broad Indus, where another *bund* seeks to ward off the river that at the same time serves the city and threatens it. From beneath the two ends of the citadel parallel streets, some 30 feet broad, stretch away from us and are crossed by other straight

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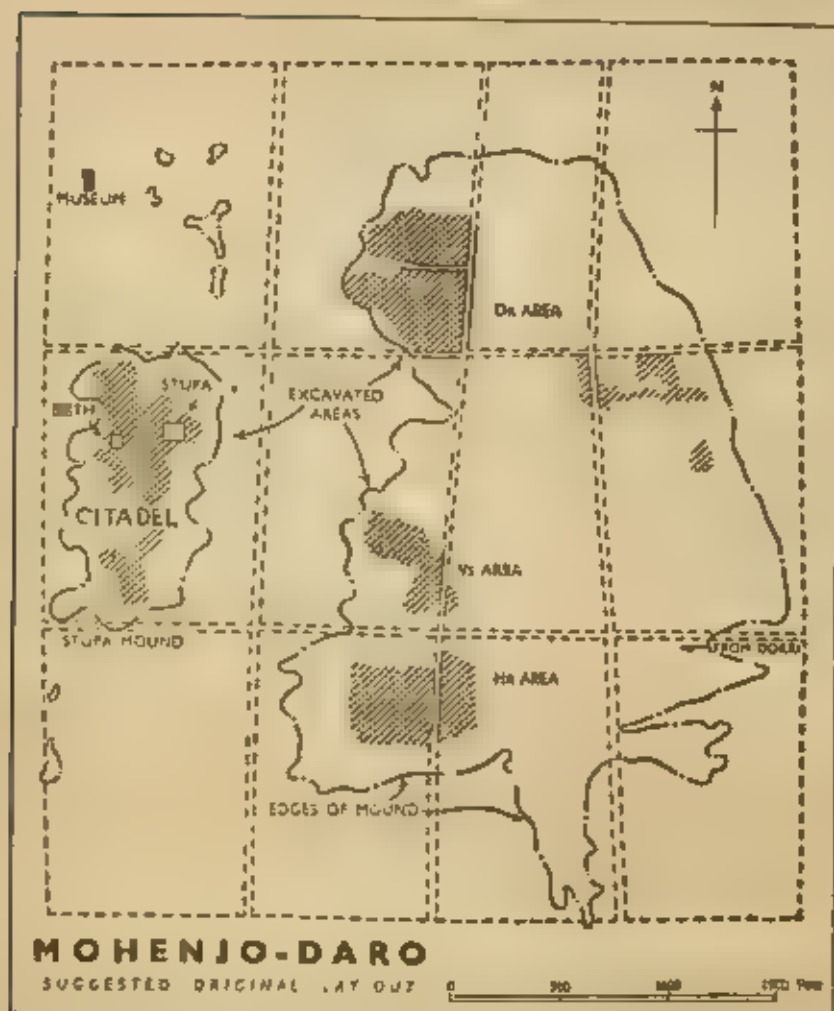


FIG. 6

(From Stuart Piggott, *Some Ancient Cities of India*, Oxford Univ. Press.)

streets which divide the town-plan into great oblong blocks, each 400 yards in length and 200 or 300 yards in width (fig. 6). Within these blocks, purposeful lanes subdivide the groups of buildings and maintain the general rectangularity of the plan. It is clear that the city is no chance-growth. It is drilled and regimented by a civic architect whose will is law.

Even from where we stand, we can see that the streets are lined with a remarkable system of brick-covered drains (pl. IIIa). In the nearer distance one of these is being cleared out by a uniformed municipal sanitary-squad, at a point where a man-hole has been built for the purpose. (2,000 years later archaeologists will find the heap of debris still lying beside the man-hole.) But it is the "hour of now-dust" when the children are driving in the humped cattle and

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the short horns and the buffaloes from the countryside for the widest of the streets which, though well-turfed, are unpaved and the dust from the bullocks and from the belted-wheeled 'Sukari' carts and an occasional elephant that we see amongst their high arches amongst the houses and obscure detail. We can just see that many of the houses are of a round central courtyard-plan, the rooms grouped round two or three sides of a court or light well, and here and there we can catch a glimpse of a brick staircase leading up to a flat roof or an upper story. For the rest we must descend into the streets for ourselves.

There if we come from some of the ancient cities of the West we are at once struck with the uniformity and monotony of the street architecture, with the absence of monumental sculpture or other diversification. At the best, the severe brick walls are coated with a mud plaster. In the main streets there are few doors as a favour wind whistles past; most of the houses are entered from the side lanes where pedestrians and chase occasional cats, and children play with marbles and with little terracotta carts and dolls. Through the arches of some of the better houses a glimpse can be obtained of furniture engraved by man of steel or green stone (sarcophagi) but of no great elaboration. Here and there a chute in an outside wall discharges waste and sewage into a brick built soil tank or into a large jar, pending the attention of the busy sanitary men. Meanwhile, at the shop beside us, another municipal squad—the Inspectors of Weights and Measures—is sternly checking the shopkeeper's crude stone weights against a standard set. All is orderly and regulated. At the same time and as a tribute paid a trifle lacking in the stimulus of novelty. The almost unvarying character of the city as a whole from century to century is reflected in this absence or suppression of personality in its details from street to street.

This sense of regimentation reaches its climax in a quarter where there are sixteen small, identical, two-roomed cottages for the housing of slaves or conscripts remaining us of the same quarter which lies between the citadel and the ancient river bed at Harappa. We are further reminded that at Harappa—behind the two rows of cookie-cottage—are several lines of circular brick platforms for the pounding of grain in central mortars, and behind these in turn—significantly near to the river and its shipping—be part of lines of granaries upon a brick foundation. At both cities we seem to see, as in Mesopotamia, the secular arm of an administration strengthened and straitened by religious sanction, a civic discipline rigidly enforced by a king-god or his priesthood.

That being so, the more regrettable is it that in our tour of the city we have not found a single building which can with certainty be described as a temple. It may be that the dust has obscured as today a much later Buddhist stūpa obscures the highest point of the citadel, where the chief temple might be expected. Nor can we make good the omission later on at Harappa, since there a still more recent obstruction (a cemetery) will baffle the archaeologist. For the religion and ritual of these cities we must content ourselves with lesser relics. Thus, terracotta figurines of women seem to show that a Mother-goddess played some part at least in domestic ritual, and there are suggestions (in form of) bud-is-workshop. Seal representations of a three-faced and horned male god, possibly squatting with legs bent double and surmounted in one seal by an elephant, a tiger, a ram, a bull and a bull, suggest a forerunner of the Hata Siva. There are also many indications on seals and pottery that trees particularly the pipal or the red fig-tree, were worshipped, as widely in India today. Animals, not only the bull which is sometimes accompanied by a so-called 'sacredrazier' or manger, were apparently objects of veneration, and composite animals, such as one with a human face, an elephant's trunk, the fore-quarters of a bull and the hindquarters of a tiger, presumably

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represent a synthesis of animal-cults. Snakes have also have been worshipped and here again many parallels may be found in Egypt. In all, altogether it is likely that the religion of the Indus is another appropriated version of the non-Aryan elements in the Hittite of a long subsequent age.

But we have not yet left the dusty street with its swelling population. The dress of the local citizen is strikingly scanty—at so far as it goes—ornamental. The woman wears a short skirt below a girdle which may be adorned with beads. Above the waist the body is bare save for extensive necklaces which are usually of clay or stone beads, but are sometimes of gold, faience or green jadeite or even gold. The most remarkable feature however is the fan-shaped headress worn with grave and various touch by an occasional lady of rank and fashion. Artistic styles of the headress are painter-like with extensive and fully stiffened and advanced and of grotesque aspect to the foreign eye. Of the men we see but little. The poorer classes wear a loincloth, a few particularly the priests and officials are wrapped in robes of red or orange. Many of the men are bearded, but the seniors seem to have shaved the upper part of an accordance with a practice found more at home in the highly civilized civilization of Sumer.

Let us peer at the passers-by more closely. We find an and a woman at a distance are of median height and slender build with olive complexion, dark hair long and and fine features. Similar men and women of this attractive appearance may be found in many places from the western Mediterranean to southern Arabia and India. A little nearer are a few of stouter stature, dark with curly black hair and prominent lips of an aspect recalling that of some of the 'aboriginals' of the Indian peninsula. An occasional stranger has a broad head with regular but rugged features. Of mixed type is a priest with beard and shaved lips and a woven fillet round his hair (pl. IVa) whose a vest is decorated with a bequeathed as by him with a ring. And striding amongst them in his Turkoman boots is an arctic eye Mongolian who came in this morning after a moonlight trek with a camel-caravan which has brought a varied cargo of dried fruits and saffron, azule and turquoise from Afghanistan and Iran. In brief the human scene is as cosmopolitan as such scenes are wont to be.

One particular feature of our surroundings soon needs to evade us: the language which many of these folk are speaking and which is indicated by clearly rendered out-dated and characters upon goods in the shops and even on some of the pottery at the wall. We nevertheless glance frequently at the seals and sealings bearing these ancient characters, for they also bear various superbly engraved representations of animals—cattle of various kinds, tiger, cynoceros, elephant, crocodile—but as a ready remarker, the shapes of gods (pl. IVb). Only ordinary mankind it seems passes veras of no account. Once more we find that the individual is of no great interest to the efficient but curiously detached society.

* * * * *

Before continuing our description, we may pause to consider for a moment certain aspects of these cities and their civilization on a more abstract plane. We have observed the astonishing sameness of that civilization both from place to place within its 1,000-mile stretch and from age to age within its 1,000-year span. Another quality of it is its evolution. Only in a general way is it linked with the smaller cultures of the last chapter. Its distinctive pottery—wasp-rear with black patterns of scales or intersecting circles, or poppy leaves or peacocks or fish—its beads, some of its alloys and fragments are peculiar to itself. We know not the circumstances of their origin. Its commercial intercourse with the outside world was, the slightest at any rate in non-perishable goods: what trade there may have been in perishable commodities such as spices, unguents, cloth and slaves, we cannot of course tell in the absence

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of an intelligible record. Most of the tools in daily use were still of stone, long chert blades in particular being employed as knives and for other purposes, but simple axes, knives, arrow-heads, spears, and other implements were also made from copper or as a by-product, and these metals together with silver were sometimes used for vessels or for ornaments. For these purposes copper was probably brought from Rajasthan, not necessarily beyond the jurisdiction of the Indus State. Iron was of course still unknown at this remote date. A little tin is found, was, as we have seen, imported from north-eastern Afghanistan. Occasionally a stone or a basalt-unguent axe may have come from South Bactria or southern Persia, a bronze socketed axe-head or rare gold disc-besels from Mesopotamia, a bronze pin from northern Persia or Asia Minor, a fragment of amethyst from South India. Amongst exports, a few distinctive products such as seals, amethyst, pottery found their way from the Indus to Iran and other cities of Mesopotamia at a time when Mesopotamian archaeologists can identify as about 2300 B.C. But considering that Mesopotamians lived through upwards of nine re-births, the total volume of this trade on either side is insignificant.

How then, did the Indus cities come into being? In spite of their difference and remoteness from the contemporary contemporary cities of Mesopotamia, it is unlikely that the civilization was an absolutely independent invention of the Indus folk. And here it is perhaps possible to find a useful analogy in the fully historical period. When Islam came to Pakistan, an Indian from the West brought with it the idea of mosque and minaret, the ideas of the rhythmic triple arch, the emphatic dome, the minaret. But he did not adapt these ideas, adapted them to her traditions. She accepted but transmuted. And for a demonstration of this process, we have only to compare the Ishān of Shah Jahan with the almost contemporary Fatehpur Sikri of Akbar the Great, the one completely and soberly Persian, the other touched with the fantasy of the jungle. So also, we may suppose, in the third millennium B.C. India (Pakistan) received from Mesopotamia the already established idea of city life or civilization, but transmuted that idea into a mode substantially new and original to her. Above all she developed her civilization as at more than one later period, along ambitious imperial lines. Whether the outstanding cities of Mohenjodaro and Harappā represent one empire or two, we cannot know; if the latter, we may recall that in the ninth century A.D. two Arab principalities divided the Indus between them in somewhat similar fashion, with capitals at Multan in the Punjab and Mangūrah in Sind. It does not greatly matter. But the immensely vast size of these two cities (each of them three or more miles in circumference), when compared with the other sites of the same culture, once again emphasizes that intense centralization which we have recognized at all stages of the civilization. Sameness, isolation, centralization are its abstract qualities; it was a civilization within an Iron Curtain which preserved it marvellously intact for a thousand years, more or less. And then, about 1500 B.C. something happened to it.

* * * * *

We are once again on the eastern fortifications of the citadel of Mohenjodaro. Before us lie the familiar straight streets stretching far away towards the Indus. But otherwise the scene is a very different one from the peaceful evening homecoming which we witnessed before. Now volumes of smoke and flame are rising from several of the houses before us. Led by a gesticulating man in an outlandish chariot drawn by two small ponies which are stretched at a fast canter, a horde of howling swordsmen is rushing down one of the main streets. By the chariot pole crouches the charioteer, and every now and then the swaying figure beside him fits an arrow to a short, stocky bow and discharges it into the panic-stricken groups of fleeing citizens. As we watch, a gang of desperadoes turns into one of the side-lanes where half-a-dozen wretched creatures, including a

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small child have just emerged from a house and are seeking escape. In a moment their bodies are sprawling in the dust and their cries cease. A little further on, a rash refugee has returned for some treasured knick-knack, and he shares the same fate. At another spot a pathetic group of eight or nine figures—half of them children, are emerging heavily laden from the quarters of the *Lowly Workers*. They are surrounded, their screams reach a brief crescendo and die away. Their treasures have been transferred to other hands, and the looters are thrusting upon their way. Elsewhere again we look down on one of the pitiful well-rooms in which town house folk were drawing water when death came to their city. For a time they have cowered beside the well, as the screams and the shouting draw them nearer. Now they can bear the suspense no longer. Two of them are climbing the stairs, have reached the street, when the invading mob closes upon them. They drop, and are instantly trampled into the sand. A burly fellow with raised sword turns on to the well house stairs and cuts down the cowering woman who is struggling up them. She falls backwards across the steps, and her companion, still beside the well, is struck down instantly. Laden with plunder, the ravaging horde sweeps on. A part of it is already streaming up the long stairway into the Citadel on which we stand. It is high time for us to take flight into the future, through thirty-four centuries during which the poor bones of the massacred will lie there in the deserted streets and lanes until twentieth century archaeologists shall dig and find them where they, with their age-long Civilization, perished within the hour.

* * * * *

It remains to expand this story a little in the colder light of science and literature. Recent revisions of all the related evidence make it clear that the Indian Civilization was still living in the early centuries of the second millennium B.C. It was succeeded by a variety of materially inferior cultures in some cases after a phase of violence. Into this picture it is difficult not to bring the evidence of the earliest literature of India, the *Rigveda*, which is agreed to represent, from the Aryan point of view and in the vague way of a literary hymnal, the conditions of the invasion of the Punjab by the Aryans at a date which, on an historical and other grounds, is now commonly ascribed to the fifteenth century B.C. The Vedic hymns make it clear that the mobile city less invaders differed, at every point from the long-static citizens whom they invaded. The term used for the cities of the aborigines is *pur* meaning a "fort" or "stronghold." One of these aboriginal cities is called "bronze" and "white." Sometimes they are referred to metonymically as "of metal." Autumnal forts are also named perhaps with reference to the capacity of a *band*, like that on which the Harappâ defences stood to withstand the autumn invasions. Forts with a hundred walls are mentioned. The citadel may be of stone or of mud-brick (raw, "unbaked"). Indra, the Aryan war-god, is *purandara* "fort-destroyer." He smashes ninety forts for his Aryan protégé Dyaumasa. The same forts are doubtless referred to where in other hymns he demolishes variously ninety-nine and a hundred "ancient castles" of the aboriginal leader Samvarta. In brief he "rends forts as ego consumes a garment."

Where are—or were—these native citadels? It has in the past been supposed that they were mythical or at the best mere planned refuges. But since the discovery of fortifications at Harappâ and Mohenjodaro in 1914, we know that at least the administrative nucleus of these great cities was strongly fortified. We know too, that lesser sites of the same Civilization, such as Ali Murâd and Kotriâs in western Sind and Satkagârdor in Makran, could boast defensive walls of stone, stone-and-mud, or brick. The general showing then, is that of a highly evolved aboriginal civilization of essentially non-Aryan type, now known to have employed massive fortifications and known also to have dominated the river-system of

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Pakistan at a time not distant from the likely period of the earlier Aryan invasions of that region. What destroyed this firmly settled civilization? Climate, economic, political deterioration may have weakened it, but its ultimate extinction is more likely to have been completed by deliberate and large-scale destruction. On circumstantial evidence, Indra and his Aryans stand accused. If we reject this evidence, then we have to assume that, in the short interval which can at the most have intervened between the end of the Indus Civilization and the first Aryan invasions, an undetected but formidable civilization arose in the same region and presented an extensive fortified front to the invaders. The assumption is a weak, and unlikely one. It is now therefore generally accepted that the Indus cities were in fact those referred to in the *Rigveda* and that they were destroyed by Aryan invaders in or about the fifteenth century B.C.

4. THE ARYAN INVADERS

OF what sort were these Aryan-speaking folk who descended upon the Punjab with such violence in or about the fifteenth century B.C.? At present the archaeologist is strangely silent about them. A few bronze swords and other implements have been ascribed to them, but this is admittedly mere guesswork. For the rest even guesswork fails. If we are to fill up, however tentatively, the 1,000 years between the end of the Indus Civilization about 1500 B.C. and the annexation of the Punjab by Persia shortly before 500 B.C., we must turn to the Vedic literature for such shadowy material as we can extract from it. In the present context this task need not detain us long.

Between the unread inscriptions of the Indus Civilization and the epigraphy of Asoka in the third century B.C. (see p. 40) there is no vestige of the written word in Pakistan or India. On the other hand, there is a great body of religious poetry and prose which was handed down orally from age to age with meticulous accuracy and has been written down in modern times. In this the *Rigveda* is presupposed by the rest and is, therefore, the oldest. Its absolute date is less certain, but there is general agreement amongst philologists that it dates back to the twelfth century B.C. or earlier. This date is consistent with that of the movements of Aryan peoples in western Asia as recovered by archaeology and epigraphy, and we may therefore, admit the evidence of the earlier portions of the *Rigveda* in an attempted reconstruction of the Aryan society which settled in West Pakistan soon after the middle of the second millennium B.C.

Many of the hymns of the *Rigveda* are addressed to the Aryan war-god Indra, who is the sporter of the Aryan hero—strong, bearded, of mighty appetite and a great drinker of the divine liquid *soma*. He fights either with the heavenly thunderbolt or with the more mundane bow. He rides in his chariot, raids cattle, and as we have seen, loots and destroys fortresses. His rival is Riksha, who is young, swift and sinister and commands a warrior band, the Maruts. His opponents, the city folk, are the *dasyas* who are black, noseless (flat-nosed), of muted glib speech, and worship strange gods. We are reminded of the dark flat-nosed people whom we saw in the streets of Mohenjo-daro (p. 29), and of the myths of non-Aryan religion, even of Shiva-worship, which we also noted (p. 38).

The Aryans grow grain, possibly barley, and use the plough, but are first and foremost rather breeders and beekeepers. They also have flocks of sheep and goats and they employ leather and wool freely. But, above all, they use horses, apparently of a small breed, suitable only for draught. The typical vehicle, whether for war or for racing, is the two-horsed, spoke-

wheeled cartiot carrying a warrior armed with a bow and sometimes a spear, and a charioteer who stands or crouches beside him.

The hearth is the centre of domestic life but we are told little of the dwellings themselves, save that they are of timber, rectangular and thatched. There are also assembly halls from which women are excluded where the men folk transact business and assemble. Temples, on the other hand, do not appear to exist as specialized structures but there are turf altars and animal enclosures at which the victims are tied to posts. Music and dancing are indulged in, and there are drums, flutes and seven-stringed lutes.

Such, in bald outline, are some of the evidences supplied to us by the *Rigveda*. The picture is so typical of the earlier age in many lands—in Hellenic Greece, for example, and in the Celtic West. It is that of a mobile warrior-aristocracy, interested in feeding and fighting out little concerned with its hunter-fort-shedding peasantry. Its simple architecture and lack of temples are in accordance with its essentially vagrant character although its ploughs imply the rudiments of settled life. Its heroic, spontaneous barbarism is in striking contrast with the unheroic regulated civilization which civilized it. Its initial victory was inevitable, but no less inevitable was its subsequent assimilation of many elements and ideas, particularly religious ideas—from the civilization which it shattered. When West Pakistan eventually emerged in the first half of history as a Persian province, its Āryan quality was, we may be sure, of a very different kind from that of the protagonists of the *Rigveda*. *Indra* had won the battle, but *Śiva* won the war.

It is likely that evidences of change or disturbance in some of the ancient sites of the Indus valley and its environs reflect the extent of the Vedic period. But we do not know enough yet to say whether in any particular case the intruders were Āryans from afar or whether they were more locally-disposed persons in a time of general trouble. Thus at the Rana Ghundai in the district above mentioned (p. 12) in connection with the Zhob region, the two groups of occupation layers ended in a great conflagration which was followed by an entirely new culture. At Na, there was an apparent equivalent burning which has given the island the local name of the Solt Darab or the Red Mound, from its fire-reddened soil. At the small *tell* of Shah-tump near Turbat in South Baluchistan, an intrusion to some extent of a new folk having affinities with a south Persian culture of about 2000 B.C. or a little later was inserted into a desert village that had been in contact with the Indus peoples. At the site of Chahri-daro, some eighty miles north-west of Mohenjodaro, an Indus population deserted their homes after a long occupation and were succeeded by a poorer folk, known to archaeologists as representatives of the "Jukar" culture (fig. 3), who re-used some of the local houses and supplemented them with rectangular hovels of unfiring baked or broken brick. The new-comers had circular miniature seals of sea-shell, as of pottery, or faience, bearing a rude decoration, including the ochreate red seal of the Indus series. Similar seals, but of faience, were found in the Shah-tump cemetery referred to, and a copper shaft-hole axe and a knife found at Chahri-daro with Shah-tump and the West.

And lastly at Harappa itself, after the abandonment of the city, a strange folk of unknown origin arrived and built shabby houses along the river. Their burial site was at first by interment. But later the custom was introduced of exposing the dead and subsequently interring selected bones in large urns. The associated pottery is of a deep red colour with elaborate designs painted in a dull-black pigment which tends to 'run' a little and so soften the outlines. These so-called 'Cemetery H' people (fig. 4), have now been identified in

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Baluchistan State, but little is known about them, and it is difficult to guess how long after the departure of the last of the Indian population their arrival should be dated.

From these pre-historic or 'protohistoric' thousands we pass at once towards the firmer ground of the historic period, but in doing so we must glance in passing at the record of a group of monuments which is at present a legend rather than a fact.

5. MEGALITHS

MEGALITHS "are difficult to define. Strictly speaking the term means 'large stones' and is applied to more or less rough standing stones, circles or large graves which owe their stability rather to the massive character of their crude masonry than to any developed skill in construction. In practice the term applies to a great range of primitive structures, some of them built of quite small stones or even of timber. Here we are not concerned with elaborate or variant forms. Indeed, except for a single stone circle and for a few scraps recorded in the postscript on p. 56, we are not concerned with any forms at all which living eye has seen, and this short chapter is inserted mostly as a record of observations made nearly a century ago and as a stimulus to further search.

In the fifties of the nineteenth century a Captain Presley, then Collector of Karachi, travelled about his district with open eyes and amongst other things noted that stone graves are found in great numbers throughout the Indus district which extends along our western frontier. They are usually met with in elevated positions and consist of three or four large stones set on edge with a flat stone placed horizontally on the top. There was, I appear to have been no uniform rule observed as to the direction in which these graves were placed.

I had the pleasure of pointing out one of these groups to you a few days ago on the Indus near Waghor (20 miles east of Karachi), and I think we both agreed that with the exception of the hole in one of the side stones or walls the graves exactly resembled those described by Captain Meadows Taylor and Congreve 'in the Deccan and the Nulkins of South India'. H. B. E. Freyre, then Commissioner in Sind, added that "cairns and cromlechs such as are described by Captain Meadows Taylor are common on the road to Shah Binawal in Baluchistan, and also in the hills on the direct road from Karachi to Kutch. They are generally known as *khafirs* graves" a term which implies the tradition that they are of pre-Muslim origin.

The megalithic graves referred to, as described by Taylor and Congreve, are slab-covered cists about 6 feet long, 4 feet broad and 6 feet high, generally with a round hole (known as a 'port hole') 1½ feet in diameter in one of the end walls, and either buried completely or standing partially or wholly above ground. In the latter case they seem to have been covered, mostly by a heaped up mound of earth, and in most instances they are surrounded with a circle of large boulders or slabs. The graves commonly contain remains of several human bodies which had, sometimes at least, been temporarily exposed elsewhere for "exhumation" or preliminary removal of the flesh. They also include pots which formerly (it is presumed) contained food-offerings, and an elaborate equipment of iron weapons and tools, and sometimes beads of raw stone or gold. A group carefully examined in Mysore State in 1947 was dated approximately to 200 B.C. ± 50.

Such graves are very abundant in peninsula India, generally on the granite formations which are particularly suitable for their construction, but no certain example has been seen in recent times north of the Hyderabad district, Deccan. It would, therefore, be exceedingly

interesting and important if analogous tombs could be verified as far north as Karachi. Farther west and north-west, in the Caucasus, in Syria, in coastal Europe and more vaguely in North Africa similar tombs have long been known to archaeologists. Most of these tombs are from 1,000 to 2,000 years earlier than the South Indian series, though some of the African examples may approach more nearly to the Indian dating. But in spite of the seeming remoteness of time and space between the eastern and the western groups, it is not impossible that they are connected in some fashion with each other. A series in the Karachi district, near the mouth of the Indus—that ancient (and modern) meeting place of West and East—would greatly strengthen this supposition. Here is a chance for Pakistan field-archaeologists to discover or rediscover in the neighbourhood of Karachi, yet a further missing link in the chain of human vagrancy.

Apart from these nebulous megalithic graves, there is one monument in West Pakistan to which the term megalithic may be applied—a solitary stone circle in the North-West Frontier Province, some 17 miles east-north-east of Mardan and 34 miles north-east of Nowshera. The present writer has not seen this circle, but Col. D. H. Gordon's description may be quoted:

"At about the 17½ milestone (from Mardan on the main Swabi road) there is a track running north to the large village of Shewa, on the right of this track, hidden by the trees of a graveyard until one is close upon it, is a stone circle named by us after the village of Abota close by it. The circle originally consisted of 32 stones all roughly 10 feet high, disposed in a regular diameter of 57 feet. 14 of the stones are missing and many are broken or weathered. The stones are irregularly spread, the minimum spacing being 2 feet 2 inches and the maximum 4 feet 4 inches. There can be little doubt that these stones come from Turanah (3 miles to the south-south-west) but there is nothing whatsoever to indicate their date. The circle is associated with a local legend of the usual 'people turned into stone' type. A running party is said to have surprised and ravished some women who were working in the fields. As the raiders made off back to the neighbouring hills, the women called upon the Almighty to visit them with a judgement. Whether or not the Omnipotent was aware that their lamentations were in excess of the genuine outrage to their virtuous feelings, he changed the protagonists impartially into stones—sundry boulders on the hillside being indicated as the raiders, and the circle as the doubly ill-fated ladies."

As Col. Gordon remarks, nothing is known about this monument. The only megalithic structure in any way comparable in this quarter of the sub-continent is an irregular group of standing stones in the vicinity of Srinagar, Kashmir.

* * * * *

Since this chapter was written the writer has seen a few of Preedy's stone tombs, or others like them. About 20 miles east-north-east of Karachi, 3½ miles north-east of the village of Murad Memon and a quarter of a mile north of the hamlet or *goth* of Haji Alahdino, amidst the desert scrub are the remains of a rough sandstone cist, measuring about 5½ by 3½ feet internally and with the long axis at 120 degrees magnetic, i.e. about east-south-east. The sides are 7-10 inches thick and are untruncated. They are half buried in the sand and the northern side-alab and the capstone are represented only by broken fragments in the vicinity. There is no visible trace of a port hole, and without excavation nothing more can be said about the monument save that it is generally of the class here under consideration. The name "Kafir's grave" applied to it by the villagers indicates a pre-medieval antiquity.

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Again about half a mile north west of the nineteenth milestone on the Karachi-Ketri highway, and rather more than half a mile south of the hamlet of Blānto, is a group of small stone circles averaging $3\frac{3}{4}$ x $2\frac{1}{4}$ feet internally associated with flint scrapers found on the surface but almost completely buried in sand. These are also known as Kafir graves, but their relative small size differentiates them from the main categories of megalithic monuments. One of them appears to be surrounded by a stone circle about 17 feet in diameter.

These last-minute observations merely emphasize the need for further research.

6. EARLY HISTORY: TAXILA

WE arrive at last in the borderland of history.

On May in the year 326 B.C. Alexander the Great of Macedonia stood on the western bank of the Indus at the head of a mighty army that had fought its way with fair half across Asia. It was rugged and patient, but it was a vast assortment of foot, an perpetually hungry. Its leader stood awhile and surveyed the scene. His head set a firm example on a sturdy neck and framed with sturdy hair. In front of him a river not far from a by a native party pointed to farther India. Beside the bridge lay two thirty-sided palisades which had also been improvised for the crossing and round about hovered a scattering of native craft. But it was less at these things that Alexander was gazing than at the landscape on the opposite bank. As far as eye could see stretched a level plain of ghintal, green and gleaming sheep, more than 10,000 of them, and among them were some sheep encircled with paint and trappings and clothed with tasselled bells. Nor was that all. In the foreground stood a small, friendly appearing group, flanked by square-shielded archers and flanking horsemen. Alexander sent to know their purpose.

What was brought back that an embassy awaited him from the king of Taxila some 40 miles away—the greatest of all cities between the Indus and the Hyndes. The king was ordered to submit the tribute of his metropolis and kingdom—an assemblage of gold, silver and copper—his tribute of silver and this assortment of cattle. Then and there the Macedonian offered, thanksgiving to his gods and a festival to his troops.

Four years previously the ancient Persians, the Persian empire and the new created India were united under the rule of the Persian Empire. It was nearly two centuries since the Great King of Persia, Darius, had taken what is now the larger part of West Pakistan into his kingdom as his Indian Province and the usurper was therefore claiming no more than his own. A part of our past. But it was nevertheless a source of relief to him and to his subjects that they saw things in a reasonable light. In the course of the triumphal host procession on its way to the summer palace.

In going so, it was following a track that was to become familiar to the caravans of international trade. It descended ultimately to a spacious and fertile valley watered on the north by a substantial river, the Hydus and by two streams of which one, the Tadrā or Tadrā Nahr, was to enter the later classical literature of the West as the Tiberobahn or Tiberis. The east rose to the foothills of the Hindu Kush range after range of variant colour in the sunrise, westwards by the undulating plains of the Indus, green with crops and intersected by the smoke smoke of village hearths. In front towards the southern end of the vale, on a gentle mound lay the dun pile of Taxila itself from whence the king and his entourage were already riding to meet the conqueror.

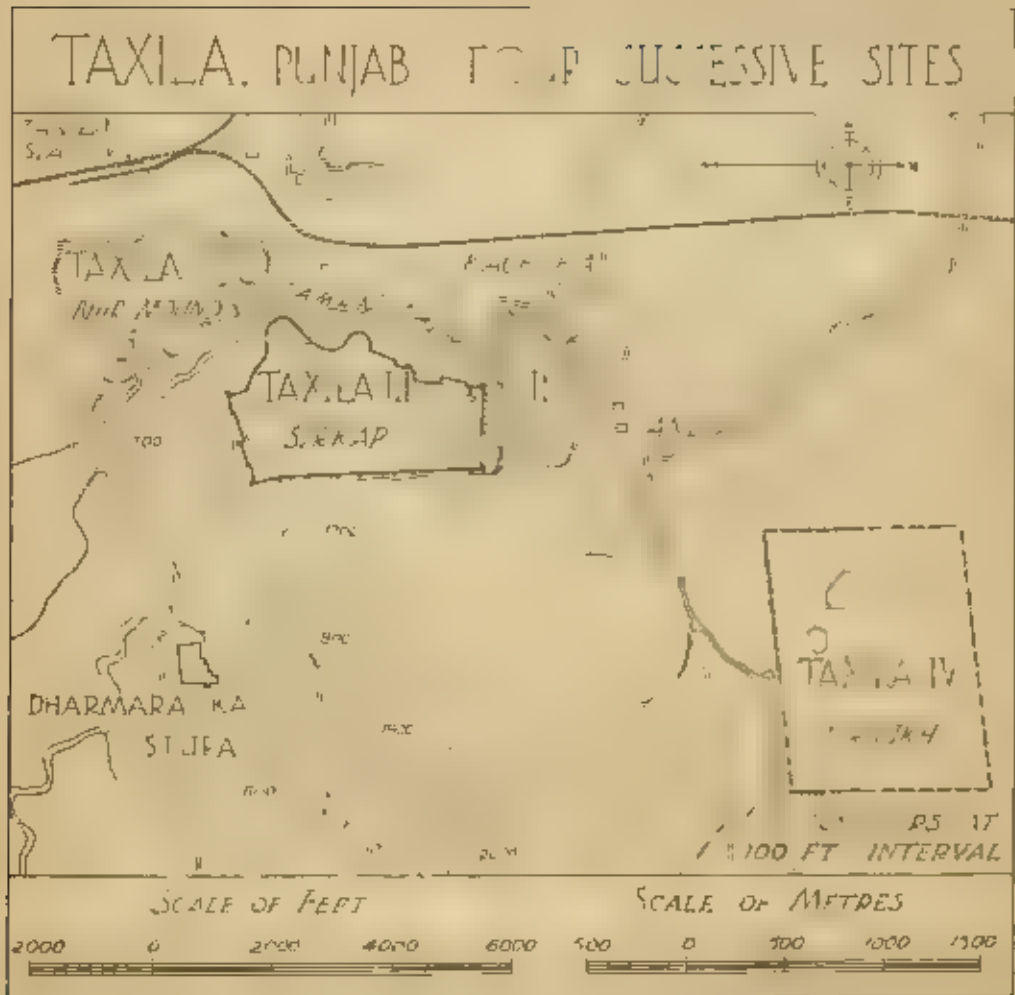


FIG. 7.

Like all present heroes, Alexander had with him those who could record his prowess. To them we are indebted for vivid scraps of information about this episode, and modern excavators have added their quota. We know that he went graciously with the king and aided or promised to add, to his kingdom. We are told that once more he offered sacrifice and held games for his army. And we can picture his ceremonial entry through the city-defences which, being probably of mud-brick, have long vanished but must once have existed.

The life of the town doubtless entertained his receptive mind, but its general aspect cannot have impressed him. Outside the gates, a cloud of whistling kites and brooding vultures marked the ground where, in the Persian manner, the dead were exposed for excarnation. Near by was the spot where, as he was told, *sati* or widow-sacrifice took place. The all-paved streets through which he was escorted were winding and of uncertain width, with irregular

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material in which had completely broken some of the main lines. To us of a later age who have recovered some knowledge of the classical layout and maintenance of the streets the Moscow plan above p. 57, the indifference of the historic Tzarda (Alexandria) presents an expressive contrast. To Alexandria was the triumph of its own Greek past, and even the same men had suggested a semi-circular plan rather than the sharp four-way junction. For the labyrinthiness of the streets was reflected in the chaotic plan of the buildings of the shops and houses. The ramshackle walls were of unjoined rough blocks of limestone with an rubbing of stone fragments and here or there occasional fragments of brick. Here and there they were coated with mud, although an open surface like that seen at the river was with a surface of red painted plaster. Only twice of any architectural interest there was one. For the most part the town spread before the eye as a warren of small, low houses and shops with little or no consideration of planning. Some courts or light wells occurred from point to point. The house somewhat stiffer than the rest, was grouped more formally round a square or its yard and one of its ranges consisted of a relatively imposing hall on roof supported on three great piers which stood on high pedestals of masonry along the main axis (fig. 8). Only at the centre of the city was there an administrative building of more pretension, placed like an island in the midst of the main street, a large structure with an irregular apse and a substantial cross-wall with wooden refectory parts similar to those just mentioned. An occasional part of this kind can also be seen in the lesser houses, always in a parcel of rubble-masonry.

In the market place few save the priest took notice. But in the quarter of it, Alexander observed a throng of girls huddled together and twittering like anxious sparrows. He was told that they were of parents too poor to supply the necessary wheat flour, and that they were therefore for sale in accordance with an ancient and unspoken custom in

His next proceeding was to try and perhaps to tell him of certain philosophers who resided in a more comfortable condition of poverty within the limits of the city. Alexander prepared for all contingencies and ordered his own staff philosopher, the Onesikritos a Cyrenaic and bold enough to be in a rage to the Persians. Onesikritos went off on his mission and a circumstantial account of the meeting of such kind came down to us. His reception by the sages was to say the least not as lively as that of the Stoics, but it is to remove his doubts and appeared in proper humanity. Another asked, "What is Alexander come for?" The way to that was the implication that he certainly had not been invited. This was Onesikritos' own motto. The king of Taxila himself then intervened and eventually persuaded one of the sages to approach Alexander to whom he proceeded to read a similar lesson. He threw down on the ground a dry and shrivelled bone and pointed his foot on the edge of it. But when it was trodden down in one place it started up everywhere else. He then walked all round it and showed that the same thing took place wherever he trod until at length he stepped into the middle and by so doing made it a circle. This lesson was intended to show Alexander that the whole world is one from its centre, and not what we call away to its distant extremities such as Taxila. In no way and another the proud West-ther got little change out of the wise men of the Punjab.

These and other circumstances, seen the transition of the royal season. But we also have a remarkable result of it. Prior to the time of Alexander the cultural equipment of Taxila had been like its architecture of an un distinguished over. Now arrived an army bearing the plunder of Asia in its knapsack and on its heels came the refugee craftsmen of the broken Persian Empire seeking new patronage in the golden East. It is no accident that in the Taxila

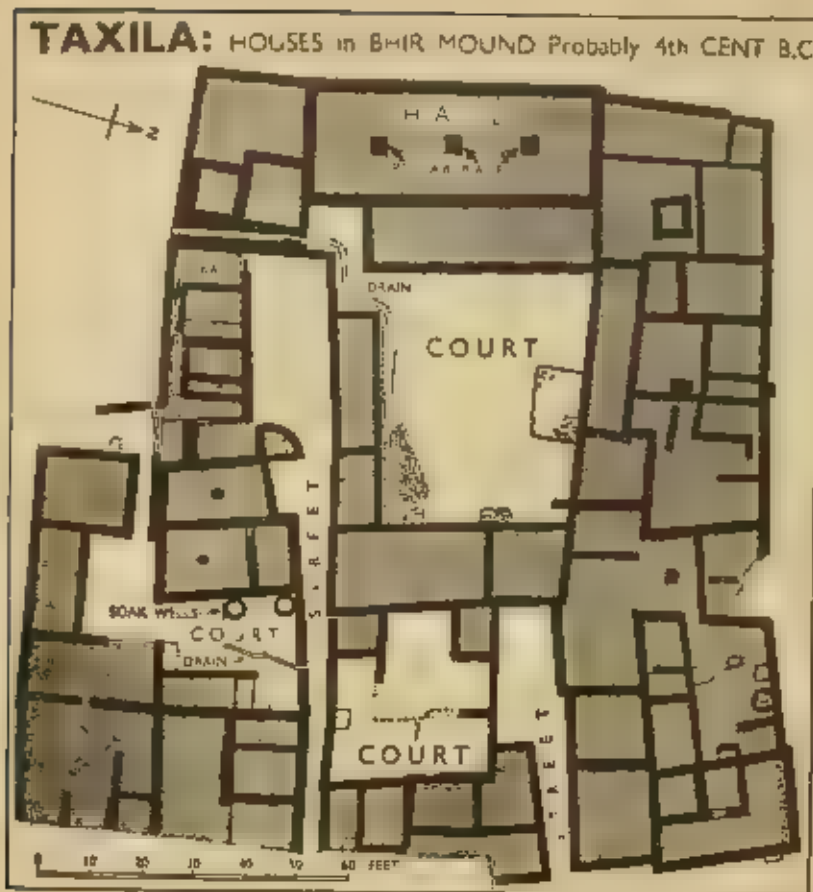


FIG. 8

(From Stuart Piggott, *Some Ancient Cities of India*, Oxford Univ. Press)

of Alexander's time we first find evidence of wealth and sophisticated craftsmanship. In a house by which the conqueror himself may have passed, archaeologists have found a pot containing no fewer than 1167 coins of silver with several pieces of gold and silver jewellery. Amongst the coins, mostly of a round oblong or bent bar type, were a worn Persian *siglos*, two of Alexander the Great and one of Philip Arrhidæus, of about 317 B.C. Other silver 'bent bar' coins of the same kind were included in another hoard from the same stratum with gold and silver beads and pendants and two beautiful Hellenic gems, each showing a lion killing a stag. These hoards and their trides like them were the accompaniment or aftermath of the episode of 326 B.C.

In due course, the invading army passed on its way. After heavy fighting, it stood for a moment beside the Beas on the eastern border of what is now the West Punjab, then it melted into the sunset. Three years after his entry into Taxila, Alexander lay dead in Babylon. A dozen years later, his Indian Province fell from the hands of one of his successors into the

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ready steps of a hill, at the foot of the jagged plain. A new empire and at once a new center of power of the Purand Empire of the 4th century and the spread westward of a power to the frontiers of the modern Patna in Bihar to the slopes of the Himalayas. Now the new ruled as viceroys at Taxila.

[illegible][illegible]

The general tone of the speech is moderation and gentleness. The lesson, the king had learned, that the masses need instruction, caused by his early conquest of the Kingdom of eastern India. Now even animals should be spared. Formerly in the forests he had seen many thousands of such creatures were slain to make sacrifices. At present his then living creatures, namely two peacocks and one deer are kept alive. Even those two trees, mentioned above, not being a tree of the forest. And more pious steps have also been taken. Hunting has been abandoned. Like for man and beasts, there has been justice and welfare beside the rivers. Moral agents, teachers of the Law of Piety, and men appointed to educate the people, I regard as my nation. I possess the right over all classes of the empire and apparently it is my duty to be an just and loving people. But all this good will must be combined with discipline. For a long time past, business, as not being a species of art have rejected their duty to propriety at night. This law will cease. In future the king would be accessible for business at all hours of the day or night. With I want for the people benefit. For, that end I wish that I may discharge my debt to animate beings and that when I make some journey in this world they may in the next world gain heaven. For better contact with the subjects he has replaced the former royal guards of poison by guards devoted to piety, beautifying the country and the people and promulgating the law of virtue. Sady customs are observed, it should be maintained. On occasion of sickness, widows, births, marriages and to take what is due, perform many costly and worthless ceremonies. But the only ceremony worth while are the ceremony of piety. Kind treatment of slaves and servants, a due and proper respect for life, courtesy to nobles and Brahmins. In brief let me conclude by the glorification of the Law of Piety.

But like most reformers, Asoka was without a time perhaps more so than we today would care to calculate, and the whole fabric of his early spiritual and secular alike broke

EARLY HISTORY: TAXILA

[illegible][illegible]

A century later the Ind-Greeks were swept away in turn by Sarmatians & Sakas from Turkestan. These new invaders had overrun Bactria and had subsequently mixed with Partians who now sat on their shoulders. By the middle of the first century B.C. Taxila had become a Sarmato-Partian city and was once more repulsed. It is this time Taxila is known as Sakap. Taxila has received most attention from the modern excavator so that its remains are today amongst the most spectacular of their kind in Asia. It covered the southern part of the second city but stretched beyond it to the south to include a series of broken limestone ridges and a sand covered flat topped hill. The extent of the new city is marked by an imposing defensive stone wall 21 feet wide, 30 feet high at frequent intervals by rectangular or (at the corners) polygonal bastions with solid lower storeys and with an outer stone revetment on the northern side. The enclosure thus formed was surrounded by a supplementary stone defence which was partly detached the upper section in clay fired bricks the lower (northern) and gave the town something of the aspect of the ancient Chinese characteristic of Greek cities of the period. Nor is this resemblance limited to its site. The street plan of the lower part of the new city was laid out on a rectangular grid which is repeated in the East and may similarly have been influenced by the Western civic tradition.

The new buildings are erected in a more solid and orderly fashion than were those of the Bhor M. and to a large extent the structural work lacks the trim regularity of masonry work. The original method of using rough, irregular blocks of limestone made up by more or less irregular fillings of limestone spalls. Most of this masonry was doubtless covered originally by a coating of mud or plaster, sometimes painted, but even so, the general effect must have been one of plainness and monotony.

A considerable stretch of the Parthian main street of the lower city has been cleared. It has a width of 25-30 feet, runs straight southwards from the north gate and is crossed at right angles by a regular system of smaller streets or lanes (pl. VI). A row on either side of the main street were small shops raised slightly above the street level, as in a modern bazaar. Behind them were one-story houses, some of them planned round a courtyard. The scarcity of doorways in these houses suggested to the excavator that the surviving structures

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representing basements and that the dwellings were not on any of the first floor and were approached by stairways only etc. Amongst other buildings a well-kept road from the main street was the main thoroughfare. But most of Jaina stupas bearing a mixture of Greek, Roman, and Indian decoration.

Two buildings are outstanding in this quarter of the town, an apical temple at the square. The temple is address by a staircase and an oblong platform is approached by steps from the main street. Immediately within the platform is a range of small cells for the attendant monks or priests, and between them and the temple are the remains of two small stupas formerly surrounded by other sculptures. The temple itself is raised above the level of the platform and consists of a nave with a porch in front, a circular apse behind and a subterranean passage for ritual incense-burners. There is evidence that the nave formerly carried a series of sculptures, whilst the apse must have enclosed a stupa now vanished. A small room adjoining on the back of the temple-compound contained a valuable hoard of gold and silver ornaments and vessels which may have belonged to the temple and of them bearing Kharosthi inscriptions of which one is datable to the middle of the first century A.D.

A large and massive building thought to be the royal palace stood in the middle of the city on the eastern side of the main street. The main block included two courts overlooked by raised balconies reserving the palace and private audience in Moghul patterns of much later date. The mansion was certainly of exceptional size and may at least have been the residence of a chief official of the town. But it is perhaps more likely that a rather large courtyard house known today as the Mahal, secluded amongst the almost no ridges in the

Upper City farther to the south, was the actual residence of the king, who here, it may be the Parthian king Gondophares received the Christian evangelist St. Thomas who according to a tradition as old as the fourth century, visited that king about A.D. 40.

It appears to have been in or shortly after the time of the great Kushans, in the latter part of the second century, that the fourth city of Taxila (Sirkap) was established a fine way from the Indo-Juan. A powerful and wealthy Asiatic monarch, was always anxious to seek glorification in the building of a new capital and it is consistent with the strong rule of the early Kushans that a new settlement receptively patches into old and new foundations, by comparison rather than by necessity alone. The fourth Taxila lay on the fertile plain well out of the foothills and depended solely on its own resources for defence (fig. 11). These are of the same well-constructed but largely unadorned masonry as the earlier cities with a small square of masonry to be seen now in the wall. The wall is 184 feet thick and has at its base both inside and outside a heavy red plaster added to protect the foundations from the moisture rain. This unusual feature occurs elsewhere in Indian fortification notably in the fourteenth century walls of Jaipur and near Delhi. Projecting from the masonry wall at close intervals are small bastions entered from the interior by narrow passages and like the wall itself furnished with arrow-slits externally spaced and supported by triangular bases. The whole aspect of these defences which are presumably of the late second or third century A.D. is in places that of developed medieval fortification. In reality they provide the earliest known instance of the use of underground towers outside the Western world. After the middle of the third century A.D. perhaps a generation or two later than the founding of Sirkap, they appear in Iran (Sassanid) at first are probably as a borrowing from the West. It may well be that the early Kushans, who were in close direct contact with the West (see p. 51),

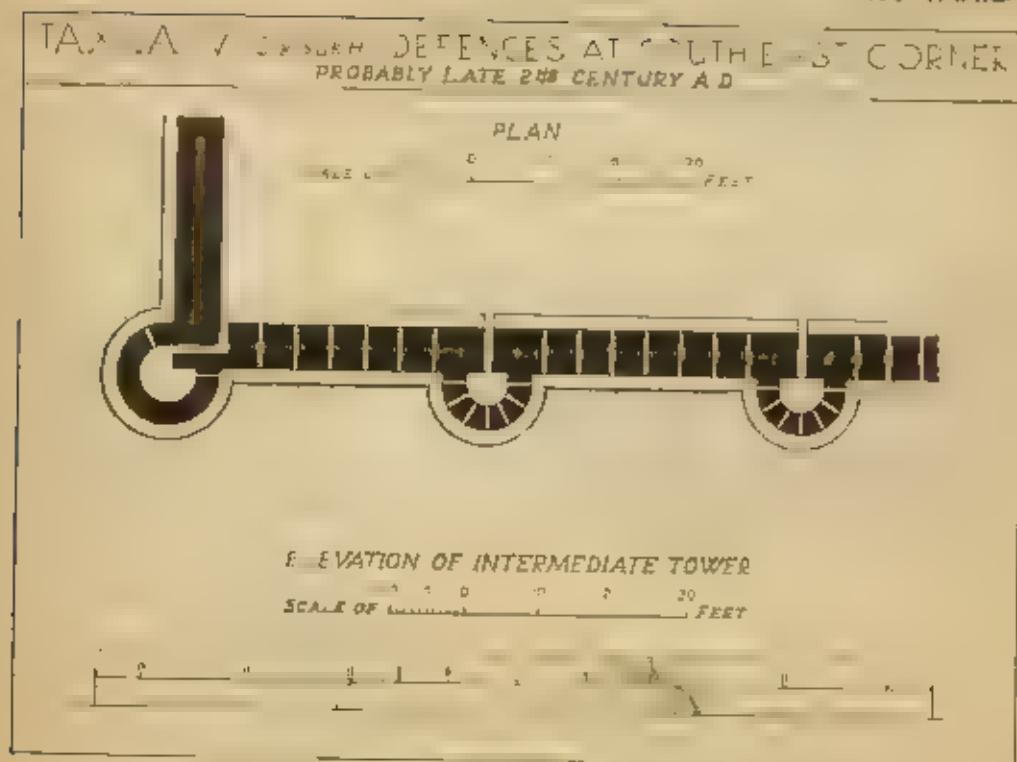


FIG. 8

had already adopted the idea independently from the same source, together with the unoriental foursquare plan which likewise distinguishes the new city from its predecessors.

Within Sirsakh conditions are unfavourable to excavation, but an area south of the centre, near the market of Tofkhan, has been found to contain a complex of buildings comprising two courts with a series of chambers disposed around them, evidently representing a considerable banking. In it were found coins of Kadphises II, Kanishka and Vasudeva.

Of the final fate of the fourth and last Taxila, archaeology continues with history to give us a broad hint. Everywhere in the local Buddhist monasteries the excavator has observed evidence of violent destruction at a date not far removed from the outbreak of the fifth century A.D. When Hsueh Tsang came this way about 630, he found a state of chaos, the royal family extinguished, many of the monasteries desolate and the monks very few. This condition may be ascribed in origin to the White Huns or Ephthalites who, after 450, descended upon the region and for a century consumed its resources. From this devastation the city never recovered and through here and there Buddhist communities lingered on in some shape until the Muslim invasions, the metropolitan life of the Taxila region was now at an end.

It remains to refer briefly to some of the ancient buildings which the visitor will find in the vicinity of the four Taxilas. At Jandhāl, less than half a mile from the north gate of Sirsakh, on an artificial mound, are the remains of a building which generally resembles a

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classical Greek temple not only in plan, but in the fact that the two pronaos of the periptero are of the Ionic order, the only great instances of this order in Pakistan or India, save for the monasteries excavated at Behera. In two respects, however, the building differs from its Western analogues: (1) instead of a peristyle or sarcolophan enclosure, it is a colonnade in outside wall, lined by wind-ward pillars and behind the main shrine was a semi-circular apotheca approached from the back by steps. This was presumably carried up as some sort of tower and sanctuary in Marshall's report, not from this, and from the entire absence of images that the temple can be related to the Zoroastrian religion, the tower enclosing the faithful to 'offer their prayers in praise of the Supreme God who, setting against Nature's God'. On this supposition, the main shrine would presumably have contained a fire altar. The building is ascribed, by the character of its masonry, to the Sevth Purthava epoch (first century B.C. A.D.) and may be the very palace temple in which Apothanas of Taxila and his companion Dionysius received by Ptolemy is to have waited in front of the wall of Taxila for the passage of the king to enter the city.

About a mile to the south-west of Jan and immediately north of the hamlet of Mohra Maharua above the left bank of the Tutra Nahr and 500 yards west of Purkap, excavations carried out before 1973 revealed a remarkable Buddhist shrine with evidence for six columns represented by peristyles, four semi-circular bases and 'several portions of Ionic capitals'. The bases were of the western Athenian type which is in fact not altogether unknown on Buddhist sites but may have been derived through earlier sectarian channels from the classical West via Bactria for example the type has been observed on a Buddhist temple adjoining the ancient city of Behera 50 miles north of Kabul Afghanistan and there have been noted in the same country at Kunduz and Bank Bactria itself at both of which a Hellenistic context is possible though not necessary. The distribution suggests circulation along the ancient Bactria Begra Taxila trade route. But the debases, provincialized Ionic capitals of local kamjar preserved from Mohra Maharua is at present without analogy in Afghanistan, and remains a mystery here if only for its extreme rarity in a region where the acanthus capital is the normal western model. The date of the building to which the columns belonged is suggested by the discovery of a foundational deposit of 'twelve large copper coins of Azes' which may be ascribed to the latter half of the first century B.C. The capital and three of the bases (with a fourth variant base from Sawab at a village in Marian district N.W.F. Province), are now set up in front of the Lahore Museum.

For the rest, the whole Taxila countryside is dotted with the remains of Buddhist monasteries which doubtless, as a part of their function, constituted in the aggregate the famous Taxila university, on the analogy of the constituent colleges of a modern university. It must suffice here to refer only to two or three of them. Notable amongst them is the Dharmarajika stupa and monastery to the south-east of Purkap with its clustering assembly of votive stupas of various periods its attic central chhatra and on its vast court-of-cells later rebuilt on a smaller scale. Sir John Marshall's description of the great stupa may be quoted.

The main structure, as now exposed, is circular in plan with a raised terrace around its base, which was ascended by four flights of steps, one at each of the cardinal points. The core of the stupa is of regular masonry strengthened by walls between three and five feet in thickness radiating from the centre. These construction walls stop short above the hem of the stupa instead of being carried down to its foundations and appear to belong to a subsequent reconstruction of the fabric which took place probably during

EARLY HISTORY: TAXILA

the Islamic epoch. The outer facing is of pebbles as limestone blocks with chiseled karar stone let in between them, for the niches and pilasters, the whole having once been finished with a coating of fine plaster at a point. The monumental and early on the face of the edifice and the niches best preserved, on the eastern side. Its most distinctive features are the boldness of its niches and at the design of its niches, which are framed, externally, by a triforium arches and piers with a pinnacles and divided one from another by a pair of pilasters. These are the two chief features of the Buwayhid architecture of the Sakastana of the 10th century. It is also found in a number of places, not less than in the capital, and in the fortifications. When the latter were built, the wall erected is uncertain. Possibly it was at a reign of the Mauryan emperor Ashoka, or at a later date. That it was already standing at the time of the early Sakas kings. Mahabharata is proved by the existence of the stupas and the other are often primary with these rulers. The rest of the Sakas is found in the north and the western part of the Sakastana and the erection of karar stone above the stupa dates probably from the fifth century.

The raised terrace and the pen passage around it were of the type served in ancient times as promenade paths (*promenades pathes*) and were used as a place for the faithful to pray and keep up in their prayers for the most time. Now a day the Bani as a place of prayer have been a place of prayer and a place of prayer in honor of cows they will pray for 14 even, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832,

The most remarkable thing was that of a reliquary in one of the side chapels containing a silver sword with a Kitaroshiki (scar) on recording that the associated names were those of the Buntō himself. It also gives the date of the monument which has been variously interpreted as indicating the place name Tokubashi (Tokuha). It is worthy of note that the donor himself was listed as a Berman and, also that he lived as the present king, king of kings, the son of Heaven, the Kishin.

The general aspect of this great group of buildings, today a mass of stone ruins, that of ruins have been dominated by the massive wall foundations, stone walls covered the ruins masonry. At one time indeed little actual stonework can have been visible in any part of Teotihuacan is environs. The funicular walls were rendered in thick plaster the loss of which in places, and it is necessary to remember that much architectural detail which once enlivened the rugged masonry was of this perishable material and is now recovered only in fragments.

Today the best example of stone ornament still in position is provided by the stūpas and monasteries which are taken away in a cliff of the hills near the village of Jāman, three miles east north-east of Burmahpā. The group includes the square base of a large stūpa, surrounded by a circle of stūpas and votive stūpas and overlaid by a small shrine with a shrine wall, a library containing many of stone images of the Buddha. From this part a short flight of steps leads to the court (below, on the usual monastic plan) with an assembly hall, kitchen and refectory, the further edge shows a steep slope. Each cell was 12 feet by a narrow long-set, high in the wall and was provided with one or two lamp niches and with one or more large storage pots. Stone stairs led to the upper storey of which only fragments remain. Here and there between towers were wall niches containing sculptures of Vihāra of which some have been in decay since the last of the high celebration which attended the monastery in the latter half of the last century. We are thus presented with a relatively well preserved Buddhist establishment of about A.D. 1000-1100, at the same time, however, the aspect of most of the stone sculpture and ornament is what we might expect from this late dating.

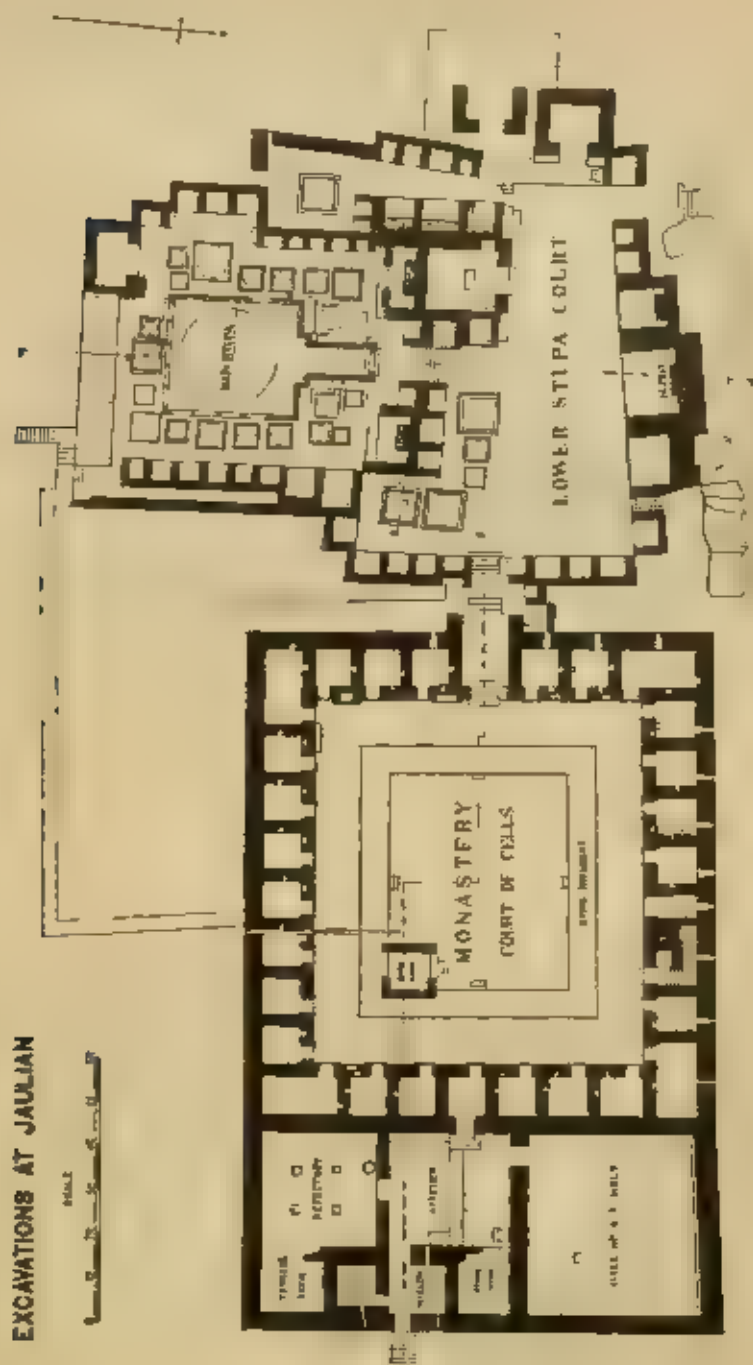


Fig 10

EARLY HISTORY: TAXILA

Apart from the extensive provision of *dagery* according with a developed Mahayana Buddhist ideal below the main hall and feature of the monastic complex are since allotted to domestic purposes particularly the hall and refectory. Buddhist monasticism was in fact already reaching the point which was *per se* a step to the dissolution of medieval monasticism in other countries. In its earlier days the Buddhist monastery had been primarily a convent of monks who sustained themselves only, solely by the begging bowl and the casual alms of the *śāhī*. Their *śāhī* ate economy must thus have been reduced to a minimum, and the monastery was in essence a home for priests and devotees engaged selfless upon the spiritual and symbolic teaching of the Hinayana, most obviously as happened elsewhere the merit of *śāhī* by *śāhī*ing the monk or his monastery assumed something more, or less than a spiritual value and substantial gifts and endowments from the *śāhī* king, *śāhī*man turned the simple monk into a wealthy man of property. The monasteries became great landowners, the begging bowl was replaced by the well and refectory and the monk the *śāhī* of a hall sometimes palatial which was now *śāhī* with kitchen and storerooms, to the back of the court of cells. An illustration of this development is available from the famous *śāhī* of Nalanda (Bihar) as recorded in the life of Hsueh Tsang in the seventh century A.D. 'The king of the country respects and honours the priests and has remitted the revenues of about a hundred villages for the endowment of the convent. Two hundred houses *śāhī* in these villages as by law contribute several hundred *śāhī* of ordinary rice and several hundred *śāhī* of *śāhī* of water and milk. Hence the students here, being so abundantly supplied do not require to ask for the four requisites' i.e. clothes, food, housing and medicine. Jaulm illustrates structurally a mature phase of this regeneration.

Another aspect of the latest epoch of Taxila may be recognised in a secluded and rocky valley at 'Giri' near the villages of Kurrum Pracha and Kurrum Qajar four miles south-east of Sirkap. Here two monasteries one of late date and the other of Parthian or Kushan origin, lie in proximity to a good spring and to a small contour fort with semi-circular walls 10-15 feet thick, reinforced with semicircular bastions. The system like the north wall of Sirkap, stands upon a ledge revetted externally as a barrier to siegework, although it would have been hard enough to manoeuvre such weapons into position on the broken terrain. The fortification is ascribed to the fifth century A.D. partly by the character of its masonry and partly by the known insecurity of the phase which culminated in the invasion of the White Huns. The excavator writes 'The remains of dwellings and other structures are everywhere in evidence (within the fortified area) but potteries and the like are not in such quantities as might be expected if this stronghold was in occupation for any length of time. For these reasons coupled with the remoteness of the spot, it may be inferred that the stronghold was intended as a place of refuge in times of need. Clearly, one surmises, for the protection of the large bodies of Buddhist monks living at the Dharmarajika and the other monasteries.' A spear and arrowheads are noted amongst the finds from the locality.

Of the famous sculptures which these and other Buddhist sites in the Taxila valley have produced, something will be said in a separate chapter (p. 53).

OTHER BUDDHIST SITES

and the beardless figure of the king may be a deliberate attempt to indicate his youth at the time of conversion. Furthermore, as if to emphasize association with the first Kanihaka, a copper coin of that king lay beside the reliquary.

Within the copper reliquary lay a six-sided crystal container with remains of its former clay sealing, preserving traces of an elephant device. In the container were three fragments of bone, doubtless relics of the Buddha.

The reliquary is now one of the treasures of the Peshāwar Museum.

TAKHT-I-BĀHĪ

Today probably the best known monument in the Peshāwar district is the Buddhist monastery of Takht-i-Bāhī, on a rocky ridge about 10 miles north-east of Mardan. It stands 500 feet above the plain and is approached by a steep and winding path, but the visitor is repaid for his climb by the great natural diversity of the ruins and by their romantic mountain-setting. The group of buildings includes a main stūpa within a courtyard from which a flight of steps leads down into a cross court filled with votive stūpas, whence in turn an upward stair admits to the monastery quadrangle surrounded by the cells of the monks. Alongside the quadrangle, towards the west, is a large square hall of assembly, whilst to the south, the main stūpa court is flanked by other courtyards with votive stūpas, remains of a row of colossal Buddhas formerly 10-20 feet high and a miscellany of other buildings. The irregularity of the terrain constantly exercised the ingenuity of the builders. A part of the building platform is extensive and revetted with masonry, and an exit towards the south-west is stepped and zigzagged down the hillside beneath a pointed barrel-vault constructed on the corbel-system normal to pre-Islamic builders. The site has produced fragmentary sculptures in stone and stucco to an extent that indicates considerable wealth and elaboration, but the most remarkable feature is the design and arrangement of the range of small shrines which surround the main stūpa-court. These shrines, containing images and votive stūpas, stood upon a continuous stepped platform and were crowned alternately with stūpa-like finials and with gabled *chhatras* forming an ensemble without known parallel. Curiously enough, the site is not mentioned by any of the Chinese pilgrims who traveled in the vicinity.

SAHRI-BAHLŪL

Some 3 miles to the south-west of Takht-i-Bāhī, on the plain, the village of Sahri-Bahlūl occupies the site of a small ancient town, from the environs of which great quantities of Buddhist sculpture have been recovered by dealers and archaeologists during the past 100 years. The extent of the ancient town is indicated by an elongated mound, some 30 feet high, and intermittent stretches of defensive walling in the variety of "hammer" style characteristic of the first two or three centuries A.D. are visible. The site is clearly that of a small fenced town of the Kanihaka period, set in a slight hollow where irrigation was relatively easy, but it has no history and was presumably deserted when Hsüeh Tsang travelled hereabouts in the seventh century.

On the surrounding plain, up to a distance of 2 miles from the main mound, a number of smaller mounds are known to cover Buddhist stūpas and monasteries. One of them may be taken as a sample of the rest. At a distance of 1,000 yards to the south, a mound was found to contain the remains of a monastery of the usual type with a small stūpa and indications of a

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large one to the west. The bulbous and polished in fluting and had subsequently remained uncarved until modern times. For the stone Boddhisattvas 4½ feet high remained in position in their original position to the missing stūpa and the stone base of the stūpa. The stūpa was found in a natural reservation. It may not be the White Horse, the latter part of the fifth century A.D. site of the monastery and continued in various ways upon their way. But direct evidence as to the date either of construction or of destruction is not available.

Half a dozen other monoliths which have been dug up to appear to have produced comparative structural evidence. The sculptures, both in stone and in stucco, reach an admirably high level of excellence. Though they vary considerably in quality they rarely suggest the mechanical mass production which characterizes the later work of Gandhara, at Taxila. The series from Sahrī Bāhī, now in the Peshawar Museum may be taken to represent Gandhara art at its best.

8. AN UNEXPLORED METROPOLIS: CHĀRSADA

POTENTIALLY one of the most important ancient sites of Asia is represented by a group of imposing mounds at Charsada, a village on the east of the Peshawar plain 18 miles north east of Peshawar city. The site has long been identified as that of Pushkavati, the pre-Kushan capital of Gandhara and the principal city on the old trade route from Bactria (Bactra), into India. At Bactria this trade route tapped the main silk route between China and the West, and Pushkavati was thus in direct contact with trans-Asiatic commerce. By way of the neighbouring arid valley it was also within easy reach of the Arabian Sea. It was captured in 324 B.C. after a siege of 15 days by the troops of Alexander the Great and its formal surrender was received by Alexander himself. Here also was the famous Kushan stūpa of the Eye-Left and Hsueh Tsang in the seventh century A.D. long after Pushkavati had been superseded by the Kushan capital Puruṣapura (Peshawar), for administrative purposes—and the city still well preserved. Incidentally he mentions the presence of an *Asoka* stūpa there.

Today the site is threatened by the extremes of the Swat river, which has cut its way into the mounds and has removed or damaged a considerable portion of them. The surrounding plain is seamed by the frequent and variable channels of this small river and of the greater Kabul river into which it now flows some 4 miles below the site. Above the main cultivation and desert of the plain the site now assumes the form of four mounds, the westernmost known as Bala Hajar or the High Fort, towering above the others to a height of 80 feet. This great mound, unrivalled of its kind in Pakistan or India, is nevertheless a mere fragment and is annually diminishing. On the writer's first visit to it in 1944 the approach was blocked by processions of buffaloes carrying away the freshly quarried earth in paniers for the purpose of top-dressing the neighbouring fields. Suitable action stopped the man. The active damage from this cause, but the weathering of the impending cliffs of the "fort" process.

It was on the summit of the Bala Hajar that in 1902-3 the Archaeological Survey of India then recently reconstituted carried out its first excavation. At the time vestiges of Durand and Sikh fortifications were still traceable on the surface, extending in date as far back perhaps as the middle of the eighteenth century. To these the excavator added fragments of a round tower and other walls of uncertain significance and mostly of Mughul date, including probable remains of a bath building. One small group of walls, however, was built in the

AN UNEXPLORED METROPOLIS CHARSADA

After a cursory characteristic of the early centuries A.D. in this part of Pakistan. The excavations recovered are of no consequence and the maximum depth attained was only 20 feet.

Mr Zia-ur-Rahman of the museum of the complex situated a mile north-east of Balā Hissar was a student and first of his kind. Muslim fortifications were discovered and ascribed to a date not later than the end of the twelfth century. Three-quarters of a mile east-south-east of this two walled mounds (Palatī or Chaz d'Heris) visible on a night but almost remains.

Of interest though its later phases in the outstanding importance of Charsada lies in its early phases when it was a metropolitan centre of Asiatic trade and a place of oriental and occidental cultures. To reach these earlier strata is the first goal of the conqueror and we have at Charsada an easy approach to them. The attacks of man, weather and water have over a large part of the area of Balā Hissar and its immediate environs removed the higher strata to a depth of some 40-50 feet. In other words Sikh and Muslim have alike vanished, here leaving the pre-historical strata exposed to immediate attack. There at the eastern foot of the 'High Fort' is the obvious spot for an area excavation designed to reach the pre-Kushan Pukhrajval and to penetrate ultimately perhaps to a second Mohenjodaro at its base. No other site is so likely to yield a complete cultural sequence from the period of the Indus valley civilization through Vedic times, into the historic period. Set fair and square in the main gateway into the sub-continent Balā Hissar is itself the gate into more than one of the problems of Pakistan's past.

9. TRADE, EAST AND WEST

IN the latter part of the first century A.D. Pakistan with the adjacent regions of Afghanistan and India fell into the hands of a clan of the Yueh-chi, a nomad people of Central Asia. This tribe the Kushans overcame the Parthians at Taxila and the Sakas or Scythians a miscellaneous lot not altogether alien to themselves, who at that time dominated the lower Indus valley and its flanking territories. Under its most powerful king, the first Kanishka, who appears to have come to the throne sometime in the second quarter of the second century, the Kushana empire extended as far as Benares on the east, into Maharashtra in the south, to the Sea of Aral in the north, and to Sistan in the west, with main capitals at Peshawar and Mathura and other cities of little less importance at Hegirah north of Kabul in Afghanistan, Taxila, in the borders of the Punjab and the North-west Frontier Province, Patana and Minagara at the head of the Indus delta, and elsewhere. The new empire thus straddled the great trade routes which traversed Asia from China to the Mediterranean and from Turkestan through the Hindu Kush to Pakistan and India. The importance of this key position in the world's commerce is emphasized alike by literary and archaeological evidence. It was exaggerated by the tendency of the Parthians, Iranians to screen themselves with an iron curtain and so to divert trade from the land routes which lay through their kingdom to long detours through the Kushan realm to the sea-ports of Pakistan and Gujarat. For two centuries, between A.D. 50-250, what is now West Pakistan was busy with the transit trade of the Orient, and took its toll of the commodities that passed its way.

A merchant's hand-book compiled in Greek about A.D. 60 and preserved certain historical facts relating to this traffic. From the Western world came figured urns, topaz, coral, frankincense, glass vessels, gold and silver plate, and wine. In return, the Indus-Gujarat

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ports transhipped turquoise, lapis lazuli, "seric" skins, cotton cloth, silk yarn and so on. A few of these goods, such as the fine cloth and the indigo, were produced primarily in India and Pakistan, but others, such as the turquoise, agate, lazuli, seric, silk and silk yarn, must mostly have come from river Asia and China along the caravan route through the Peshawar plain. At the mouth of the Indus was at Lappa sea ports such as Baryaza. Through these goods were loaded on shipping vessels trading with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf with the ultimate ports connecting with Alexandria, Petra and Palmyra. Some modern scholars have held that Pakistani archeologists will hereafter find the sites of these presursors of Karachi, Palmyra and Monangara, where this trade must have taken place. It may be that one or other will be found in the vicinity of Hyderabad (Sind).

Meanwhile tangible evidence for this ancient trade is not yet getting thick. It cannot be an accident that Kharoshthi is not only accepted types from Western mythology for this purpose, but also used for the the Roman standard of weight. It would appear from the suggestion that large numbers are weaved in part of the. It can easily be struck. Certainly very few gold coins retaining Roman types are found within the Karakoram range, while the fairly abundant examples from other parts of the subcontinent, particularly near a gully across the Roman empire, and as if at the power of Karakoram and its to prevent the active circulation. But apart from this witness to contact with the Roman empire, the provincial & what a capital at Taxila has yielded a Mediterranean ware, for example, fragments of Egyptian or Syrian glass, a bronze statuette of the Egyptian or the god (perhaps a vessel bearing a silver bowl of the Greek god Dionysos) and other objects of Western origin. These objects are in such quantity to locate at Taxila any break or retard local trade with the West such as has been identified at Arikettu near Bombay in South India, rather are they the sort of odds and ends that might well have been imported, by sea or land, for local cargoes and caravans in transit through Kushana territory.

It is just outside Pakistan, however, 60 miles north of Kabul in Afghanistan, that in 1937 and 1938 was found the most dramatic evidence for this ancient civilization. In the ancient city of Bagram, at the foot of the towering Hindu Kush, along the route the ancient route connecting Pakistan and Bactria. First excavations found a palace in which were two rooms with one or more locked in doorways. Picked in several rooms into the room were an astonishing array of wares, which can now be seen in the Museum at Kabul and the Musée Guimet in Paris. Carved, stamped in great quantity and of exquisite quality from India and copper-ware from China lay side by side with torques and glassware and other innovations from the Mediterranean, wares from Alexandria and, perhaps from Syria. The glassware can be dated to the first, second and third centuries A.D. and it is evident that the collection represented an accumulation, not a single acquisition. Its terminal date may be the middle of the third century A.D. when Shapur I of Iran brought the first Kushan empire to a violent end.

Here then is a vivid sample of that commerce which brought luxuries from China, India and the West to the highways of the Kushan realm. It is likely enough that the Bagram treasure was in fact a royal depot for the storage of goods collected as dues from that trade in transit. Ultimate markets are indicated by the discovery of Roman glass in China, of an Indian ivory at Paphos in Italy, of Chinese pottery in Roman towns in the Karakoram. But it is clear that one of the principal channels through which the terminal markets were supplied, lay at the time through west as now West Pakistan. In the middle of the third century, the Sassanians of Iran cut this direct route with the West. Thereafter,

traffic had not entirely cease, but it reverted in dwindling quantities to the hands of diverse middlemen. The Kushans no longer controlled and regenerated it, and the India-route lost its arterial character.

10. BUDDHIST ART

IT was, doubtless this close contact between the Kushan empire and the West that gave the famous Buddhist art of Pakistan in and after the second century A.D. a quality which distinguishes it from other contemporary oriental schools save in so far as these were influenced by it. This quality is a blending of Eastern with Western elements into an essentially oriental style which assimilates its Western borrowings and derives an additional strength from them but without loss of originality. Before describing this art, it is necessary to indicate the circumstances under which it arose.

Buddhism was, in origin, not a religion but a philosophy of life. The Buddha, the Enlightened One, was not a god. He was an inspired teacher who about 500 B.C., preached on the Ganges and in the Middle Path, between indulgence and asceticism and sought a definite deliverance from samsara (materialism) in supreme detachment, *nirvana*. Such was the Buddha, but the great Ananda (274-232 B.C.), who was probably the first to encourage the way of life in Pakistan. Later, by a process of evolution natural to a land where the teacher has always been revered, the Buddha was increasingly regarded as a divine being to whom prayer might be offered. It is usual, though not strictly correct, to distinguish the earlier type of Buddhism as that of the Hinayana persuasion or the Buddhism of the Lesser Vehicle, and the later type (which did not wholly supersede the other) as that of the Mahayana persuasion or the Greater Vehicle. The latter persuasion reached maturity in the second century A.D., in and about the time of Kanishka.

In artistic expression, the outstanding difference between these two main types of Buddhism was that, during the prevalence of the Hinayana teaching, the Buddha himself was never represented. His presence was symbolized by a chair, a footprint, an umbrella, a riderless horse. And at this symbol stood in turn the monks, the other participants in the scene, but there was no central commanding figure. In Mahayana Buddhism, on the other hand, the figure of the divine Buddha comes to the assembly and is the focus of its composition. Both an ideologically and aesthetically, the change was revolutionary.

Artistically, this change found its first full expression in what is now West Pakistan and eastern Afghanistan. The new Buddhism amongst other factors received the patronage of the liberal-minded Kanishka and the wealth of the Kushana empire provided a suitable environment for its development. What was lacking was any comprehensive traditional idiom in which to express the new observance, and it was here that Western art, already sufficiently familiar from the Western luxury trade described in the previous chapter, came to the rescue. In the Roman imperial West, the figure of the Roman emperor or statesman had already emerged as the dominant feature of an artistic composition. Now both this and some of its accessories and details were adapted to the Buddhist problem. Figures clad in Western clothing, Western types such as *pudicæ* or *erotes* and *parianes*, satyrs, Apollos, Minervas, even an actual scene from Western legend such as that of the Trojan horse, and Western grouping such as that associated with the state arrival or departure of the Roman emperor found their way into the sculptors' workshops of the Peshawar district (the ancient Gandhara) and the adjacent region of Afghanistan. There they were, to a greater or less extent, transmuted

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by the Buddhist craftsman and given a Buddhist context. The fact that the region had previously been ruled by Indo-Greek kings may have to some extent prepared the way for this influx. But it seems certain that for more than two centuries before the Mauryan conquest over the art took shape, the surviving Hellenist of Bactria had adjusted to a new point of view, the most that it may have been, to the subjects of Kanishka was a faint, uneasy sympathy for Western things. The idiom or 'language' of the new Buddhist art, in so far as it was non-native, was bred from new contacts. It is essentially a cultural by-product of the Kushana commerce which brought into and through the kingdom objects of art and craftsmanship from the Roman empire.

THE Buddhist art has survived chiefly in sculptural form, partly in stone, partly in stucco or plaster, and partly in clay. Most of the stone sculpture is carved in a green schist which occurs in the higher mountains, i.e. the Swat valley and the eastern end of the Peshawar plain. Its comparatively high survival value, and, probably, its relative importance for more widely spread in space and probably in time, is the equivalent, in its typical stone, of the clay which is found not only in Gandhara but farthest among the arid mountain Buddhist sanctuaries with the finest thing, the Buddhas and the Turkestan ones, by the Ganges and in Afghanistan the best known source for this sculpture, mostly in stucco, but sometimes in stone, is Hadda, near Jalalabad, where there was a large Buddhist monastic establishment, at a certain monastery, as far north as Kandahar, in the Turkestan steppe, in the same country, has produced similar stuccoes. In Pakistan twenty years of excavation at Taxila (see above, p. 45), have likewise yielded a great quantity of stucco, with some clay and stone. From other sites in the Peshawar plain, and as far south as the monastery which surrounds the famous terracotte city of Mohenjodaro in Sind, stucco sculptures have been recovered. It is because of the plastic convenience of stucco, by reason of its easy manipulation, associated with a greater range of expression than the stonework, and, on the other hand, that this facility and the possibility of using stucco encouraged and produced a particular, in the later centuries, consequent phase, when the use of the more luxurious stone may have died out. But a right, or it emphasized, the stone 'carvings' sculpture is merely a special aspect of a comprehensive stone-and-stucco Buddhist art.

For the dating of this art there is little evidence. The earliest unguessed representations of the Buddha are those on certain gold coins of Kanishka about A.D. 250, and this date accords well with what we know of the development of the Mauryan coinage. A terminal date is more securely fixed by the probable destruction of the Taxila monastery by the White Huns within the half century following A.D. 450. A considerable quantity of stucco sculpture has been found in positions in those monasteries and gives us a consistent picture of the condition of the art at the middle of the fifth century (pl. VIIa). We see that it was then highly stylized, but still retained clear evidence of its dual (Eastern and Western) origin. It may be doubted whether, after the fifth century, much Buddhist sculpture was produced in the northern part of West Pakistan, although there is evidence that Buddhism was not completely extinguished by the White Huns. In the lower Indus valley, at any rate, a genuine Buddhist tradition appears to have lasted until the Islamic invasion of the eighth century. For instance, at Mirpur Khas, 42 miles east of Hyderabad, Sind, beside a brick stupa bearing painted terracotta Buddhist Buddhist seals of the seventh or eighth century are also to have been associated with the Arab coins, though considerably above the actual construction level of the monument.

The sculptures from these sites were used partly to adorn the drums of stupas, partly in

the small shrines with which monastic settlements are strewn and partly in the monastic courtyard enclosures, both around shrines and on the walls between the cells. It is remarkable that the whole of this art seems to have been employed in the interests of Buddhism, save doubtfully for an occasional laity patron; there is no indication that it was ever used for purely secular decoration.

Good examples of the Buddhist or Romano-Buddhist art can be seen in the museums at Lahore, Peshâwar and Taxila (pl. VII).

It is hard to ascertain more exactly the sources of the Western element in this art. In connection with the Hellenic (Afghan) element reference has been made by some writers that Alexandria had contributed largely to it. Alexandria's statue-tes and glass and stucco plaques such as are found at or about the excavated ruins of Alexandria are mentioned and recall the anti-religious statuettes of that city itself, but "the active agents in the exchange of goods between the Roman Empire and China were the Alexandrian merchants. Without them the commerce with China would probably not have existed." At one time Alexandria was the principal home of Asiatic sculpture in the West. Adjacent to the city are vast beds of gypsum, the contents of which stucco or plaster is the chief product. And when in Ptolemaic or Roman times (from the third century B.C. onwards) marble statuary was demanded at Alexandria in conformity with Greek or Roman taste, the local gypsum statue was extensively used as a substitute for the relatively costly western marble which had to be imported from considerable distances. There can be little doubt that the Alexandrian trade with the Kushan empire carried rather not merely goods and coins, but also ideas and ideas, i.e., in the form of sculpture or of sculpture itself. The latter the use of this medium spread rapidly with the Buddhist movement that travelled northwards and eastwards with the caravans, as far as the borders of China.

11. HINDU TEMPLES AND FORTIFICATIONS

WE turn now to more local matters.

None of the pre-Islamic Hindu temples in West Pakistan is likely to be as early as the Arghavans of Sind in A.D. 711-12 but it is convenient to deal with the few ancient examples before embarking upon the Muslim period proper. They fall into two groups both of which owe their survival mainly to geographical causes. The first or northern group, of the eighth to tenth centuries A.D., is situated amongst the barren hills of the Salt Range and the heights overlooking the Indus valley to the west and north of it; the other, of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, lies near the southern border of Sind, tolerably secure within the fringes of the Thar or Desert and may indeed be regarded as an outlier from Rajputana rather than as integral with the Indus zone.

The northern group may in turn be divided roughly into two sub-groups—an eastern, with Kashmiri affinities, aligned on the river Jhelum, which flows Kashmir with the Indo-Pakistan, and a western, of more normal Hindu type, aligned on the Indus. The eastern sub-group lies mostly in the Dera Ishtad District, and its best known example is the ruined temple at Mahat (fig. 11), probably the site of Huen Tsang's Singapura, ancient capital of the Salt Range. The temple is typical of the four-square Kashmir style, with an elaborate recessed bay on each face flanked by white columns not capped by a trifoliate arch. The roof was quadrangular of stone, pyramidal and stepped, upwards in two or more stages, but has fallen. The columns

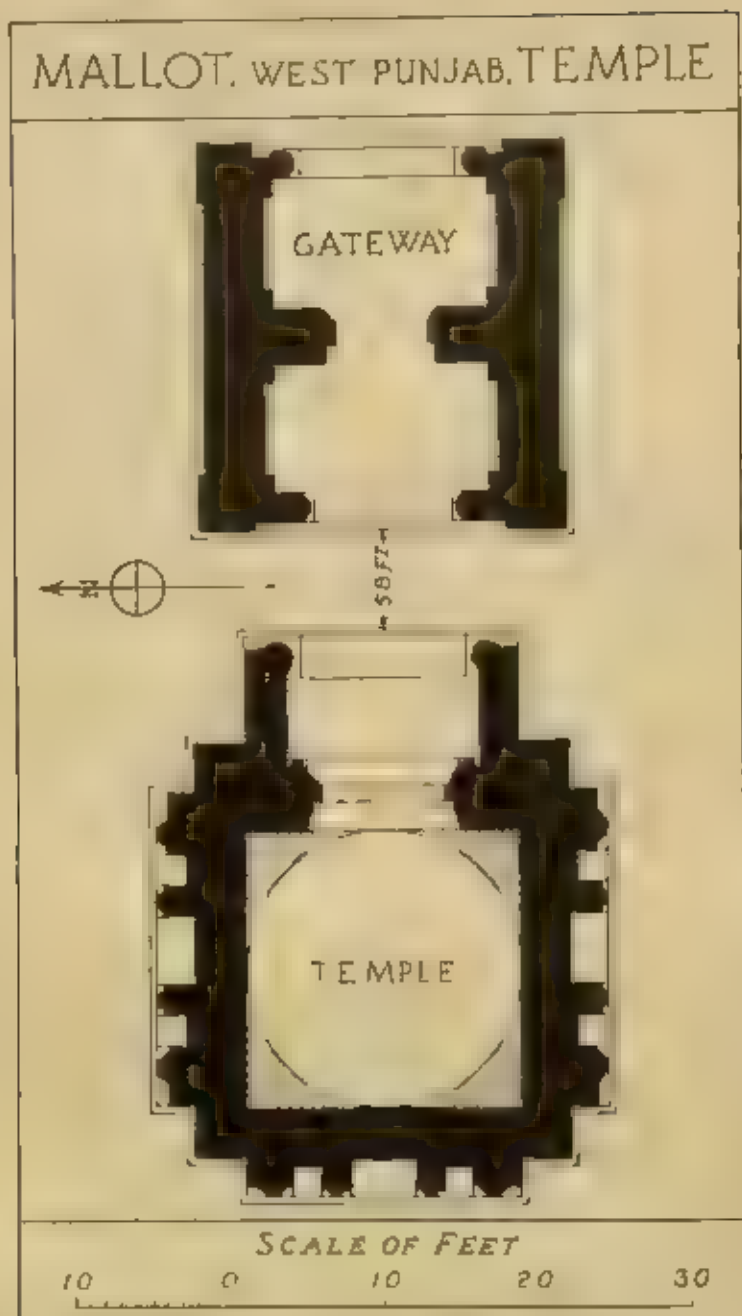


FIG. 11

After Alexander Cunningham

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are derived from Western architecture through Buddhist channels: the trifoliate arches are Indian, but also derived from Buddhist designs in which the trifoliate resembles the gable of an assembly hall or *chhatra* with three sides, whilst the pyramidal roof is a copy of timber prototypes designed to resist the heavy snow fall of Kashmir. Thus the whole design is an original and striking rearrangement of Indo-Roman Buddhist elements grafted upon a Himalayan timber tradition. It is doubtless a monument built towards the middle of the eighth century: the powerful king Lalitaditya of Kashmir extended his rule into the northern Punjab, including the Salt Range.

To represent the western sub-group, two examples may be selected: the so-called Kalar temple in Attock district, and one of the temples of the Northern Kafir Kot at Bilal in Dera Ismail Khan district. Both of these rise in the form of the convex sides, tower or *sikhara* typically of medieval North India, with a slightly projecting panelled bay in each side, and both are elaborately fretted with patterns based, certainly on the *chhatra* gable described above. Both also incorporate finisters having vase-capitals with pendent foliage in a fashion first elaborated by the fifth and sixth century Gupta architects of the northern plains. And the link with the network of the stoneless plains is emphasized by the fact that the Kalar temple, although in the vicinity of good sandstone, is not made of it, but of brick, whilst the Kafir Kot employs granite as a building effect with basaltic flag blocks of 6 ft. easily cut *kanjar* or *oncar* as *finis*, bound with mortar and formerly lined with plaster. We have here, in fact, a north-westerly extension of the architecture of the Jaina Gujjer plains, modified as an after-race of the westward extension of the Gupta Empire from these same plains into a north-western style which has matured largely under local Buddhist patronage.

The remarkable Southern Kafir Kot or Bilal series, together with a comparable group in the Northern Kafir Kot 24 miles away, deserves further comment even in the present summary context (p. VIII A). A large one of these temples is contained within the two fortifications to which further reference will be made presently: there are at least five on the southern site and five on the northern. The surviving temples differ in detail and in relation to some extent, in date, but their common features are summarized as follows in a note prepared by Sir Aurel Stein on the southern group.

The interior of each of the temples is a square cella with dimensions up to 13 feet. By a succession of overlapping courses in the corners the square is at varying angles reduced to an octagon from which springs an abutively developed dome constructed of horizontal courses. The larger shrine always invariably a circular vaulted porch in front of the cella entrance. Above the cella there rises always a high and richly decorated roof of the *sikhara* shape representing a truncated cone with gracefully curving angles. In the case of two temples, which face each other as *panditas* in a common base of elaborate construction the roof contains a second story with a square cella approached by a staircase within the thickness of the main story wall. The passage surrounding this second cella leads to another flight of stairs which is now broken but must once have given access to a third small chamber at the top. In the other shrines such upper storeys are absent with a corresponding reduction in the height of the roof.

The outer side walls of the shrines invariably show pilasters projecting as well as niches: the centre probably intended for the reception of a sacred image. Frieze niches of smaller dimensions usually decorate the flanking portions of each facade. Apart from the ever-present pilasters and cut-recessed arches above the niches the decoration of the side walls varies greatly in richness. The roof faces the most ornate portion of the structure, being covered throughout with an intricate diaper of carvings in which a

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fluted. These have been found in the excavations of the Harappan civilization. The walls of the houses are built with bricks of the same size. The surface of the walls was originally covered with a red ochre wash, which has since been removed.

The surface of the walls is covered in the patches of at least two or three feet a square. This is the result of the decay of the plaster which was once a fine white. The decay is the result of the decay of the plaster which was once a fine white. The decay is the result of the decay of the plaster which was once a fine white.

Stems which that in the larger temples massive wooden beams which still survive were placed horizontally across the corners of the walls where these bear the main thrust of the dome. In the latter Mr. H. Hargreaves in a further report notes that the courses of the domes are horizontal but exhibit no features characteristic of the so-called Hindu horizontal arch and the courses of the masonry are clearly visible. This incipient use of voussoir construction reported in connection with the employment of a star throughout the masonry may be interpreted either as evidence for an (early) post-Islamic date, i.e. a date not earlier than the beginning of the eleventh century, or as seeming more like a pre-Islamic inheritance of Iranian methods through the advent of the Persians from the Iranian plateau. For the latter possibility the tentative use of ring-shaped tiles in Kanishka's stupa at Peshawar (c. 120) several centuries before this Persian fashion was popularized in north-western India by Islam might be cited as an analogy, as also the use of a voussoired brick and a niche in the case of a Buddhist stupa at Mirpur Khas, 42 miles east of Hyderabad in Sindh. It is less probable that the Arya settlers in Sindh and the southern Punjab were responsible for some of these innovations though this alternative source cannot be ruled out. An eighth to tenth century date for the temples seems likely but in the complete absence of inscriptions or relevant coins the stylistic evidence is unsupported and is at present an uncertain criterion.

No sculpted parts remain on the surface but there can be no doubt that these temples, in spite of the Buddhist influence observable in detail, were Brahmanical.

The southern group is concentrated in the district of Thar and Parkar. Owing to its remote position little is known about it and the present writer has not seen it. The best surviving member of it appears to be a larva temple at least 14 miles north-west of Virawah, but even this example is said to have suffered from fire and gunpowder. It is built of red sandstone with pillars and a shaft of marble from Rajputana and consists of three parts: an outer mandapa or pavilion with twelve pillars and a circular dome leading to an inner part (also of similar design) but supported by small columns and the shrine itself which features a tall spire or *sikhara* of typical Kathiawar pattern adorned with rows of miniature *sikharas*. The domes though not uncommon on Brahmanical and particularly Jain temples and found on the Hindu circular system probably owe their origin to Muslim influence. That of the outer mandapa was formerly painted bright red, its date being probably from A.D. 1715 when, as an inscription records, the temple was repaired.

The tradition in regard to the foundation of this temple is that 500 years ago a certain man of Pari Nagar went to Patanjy in his horse and found that within there a spirit directed him to a hidden image and subsequently instructed him to take it away in a cart drawn by two oxen. That evening the cart broke down and the ever-present spirit told the man in a dream that the image was now again enlarged and and that he should build a worthy temple

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on the site. Subsequently the soil which had accumulated in the first excavation, and which was recovered by the family of Virawa for safety and was kept buried as a secret periodical exhumation. It was last exhumed in 1824 six years after the chief died, evidently carrying with him the secret of the burial-place.

From Hindu temples we pass to the only other surviving category of non-Islamic medieval structure of which nothing can be recovered without excavation. In doing so we return to the district of Dera Isma'il Khan, to the two Kafir Kot. Northern and Southern to which reference has already been made. The Northern Kafir Kot commanding the gateway of the famous Kharan valley and the Indus valley and the Punjab plain was described by Stein in 1885 as "the largest and most important ruin in the whole province of the Indus valley between Attock and Lahore." Some time ago ruins have been found at the Northern Kafir Kot is assumed of a permanent place of assembly and of destination in the archaeological and topographical of Pakistan. Its temples have already been mentioned but something must now be said about its fortifications.

The Kharan valley is a natural highway from the Kharan plateau to the central Indus valley. It is significant that in Harappan times (about a D. 2300) the kings of Harappa at the foot of the Hindu Kush north of Kabul ruled also in Baluchistan the lower reaches of the Kharan and in a D. 1004 another Chinese pilgrim F. Hien and his companions went into India from the land route via Jalalabad by that route. For the control of trade or invasion whether from the sea, or from the inland, the point of passage chosen by the masters of Kafir Kot overlooking the Indus near its confluence with the Kharan was a key position.

The spur is enclosed by a stone defensive wall of dry built masonry enclosing some 50 acres of irregular terrain and armed at close intervals by round and rectangular towers with a dog-legged entrance in the midst of the anti-wall (see fig. 1). At least one of the towers still stands to a height of over 40 feet. Within the western end against the cliff face is a kind of citadel. Stein, citing in shape and about 140 yards in length, appears by massive retaining walls above the general level and commanding the most exposed approach. The walls and towers are sharply sloped inward or "outward" and the latter are in some cases protected at the base by a revetted hem or platform as at Taxila (Pirkapur) elsewhere. In some of the towers where the outer skin of the masonry has fallen an inner skin is revealed, but from the account it is not clear whether this represents, as it presumably does, two periods of construction. That such in fact is the case is supported more likely by marked differences in the walling at various points. Some of it is of carefully dressed and squared sandstone slabs of moderate size elsewhere and of more or less dressed pieces of rock up to 6 feet in length or height are set in courses or otherwise closely fitted in the lower portions of the bastions near the gateway neatly cut sandstone ashlar blocks measure up to 3 feet in length and 2 feet in height and are regularly courses in one bastion at the south western end, the lower part is built of large unquarried blocks interspersed with coursed rubble in a fashion characteristic of the Kushana period (second to fourth centuries A.D.) in Gandhara, whilst the upper part is of a different build and doubtless represents a reconstruction.

The evidence of the defences thus suggests a long period of use and the abundant debris of ancient dwellings of un-mortared masonry together with a great scatter of potsherds in the interior points to the same conclusion. Apart from the temples, however, the only building of pretension noted by Stein was a two-storied structure known usually therefore as the Main Symmetrically confronting one of the temples. Both storeys contain windows with sloping

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It occupies a small, defensible plateau about 350 feet above the Indus, the westernmost branch of which flows below it. The general aspect of the fortification resembles that of the Northern Khet, but the variety of detail observed in the construction of the latter has not been noted in the former. The walls are massive and face with carefully dressed stone blocks with all mortar with large blocks between the joints. There are upwards of 22 round-fronted towers and at least two clockwork gateways, the interior is filled with a chaotic mass of crumbling and broken wall fragments to which reference has been made. The remains are presumably those of a fortified frontier town of some 6th or 7th century possibly fortified by an Chaghan as the Arabs penetrated up to it in the valley. Whether that or no or not, these Arab invaders must now engage our attention.

12. THE COMING OF ISLAM

IN certain of the Persian histories of the invasion of Sind by the Arabs in A.D. 711-12 there is an interesting episode of interest. It is variously recorded, but Firdausi's version is as follows.

"We are told that in those days the merchants of Ceylon were permitted to send vessels to the coast of Africa, to the Red Sea, and to the Persian Gulf, and to be prevailing from the earliest times. It is related also that the people trading from Ceylon became converts to the true faith, at as early a period as the reign of Asoka the Great (and that, having traded and intercourse with Mohammedan nations, the king of Ceylon, according to some history, with various rare articles the produce of his country, to the Caliph, Walid, at Baghdad. On this vessel arriving at the entrance of the Persian Gulf, was a king, accompanied by orders of the Caliph, ruler of Deccan, on two elephants (Sindh), with other nobles, and other boats. Some of the ships, standing their course, are carried a captive to Hujra, (vicinity of the eastern provinces of the Caliphate).

The details of the story are of no great moment. But the reference to Muslim converts trading from Ceylon may, perhaps, be taken to refer to Arab merchants who had established more or less permanent trading stations there and had doubtless taken native wives, and the whole setting of the incident is of value as an indication of the connection in the eighth century of the ancient traffic between South India, Ceylon and the West. Originally in the hands of Arab and other intermediaries, that traffic had been taken under the direct control of Western merchants during the first two centuries of the Roman Empire, but had later passed over more to rival, various middlemen amongst whom Arabs once again have predominated. It may well be, therefore, that this continuing Arab commerce coasting past the Indian delta between the Persian Gulf and the South served in some sense to point the way to the Arab invasion of India.

Be that as it may, at the time of the episode the Arabs were already in Makran, within striking distance of the Indus, and their local governor was instructed to demand reparation from Dahir the reigning Hindu ruler. Dahir replied that the aggressors were not under his control. Arrows were fired. The Caliph authorized Hajja, to send an expedition against Sind, but both this and another which followed were defeated by the Sindhis. A third, under Hajja, a young cousin and son-in-law of the Hindu ruler, was then only 17 years of age, was more adequately manned and equipped. It included 6,000 Syrian horse, a camel corps, a large baggage train and artillery, amongst which is specified a large balista or catapult known as

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The Brade first operated by Sahiwal. When this considerable army appeared before Dehli the Brade was arrested at the bridge of water over which the town of the great temple of the town and he at the base a brick (brick) column. The rest of the town was destroyed and the ruins of the first mosque erected upon the ruins of Pakistan.

The site of Dehli is not known with certainty. Various writers have placed it at Tatta or at a spot some 24 miles to the south west of Tatta. Charges of not a word of the formation of the Hindu city like guessing hazards is not to be regarded as being quite correct. But a fort which is a mound known as Brahmanabad situated on a rocky plateau 34 miles east of Karnah on the northern bank of the Ghagra creek would represent a fort of much older date. The mound is about 30 feet high and is full of the remains of an ancient masonry which include fragments of a defensive wall, 10 feet wide with bastions. The interior of the enclosure was divided into two unequal parts by a road-way over 100 feet in length. Small earthenware objects and houses of glazed and unglazed pottery with some glass can be picked up on all sides of the site. Amongst the pottery are pieces of a new ware of a kind which was widely distributed over Asia from the ninth century onwards and has been found also (for example at Brahmanabad) some 100 miles to the north east of the site and many other places and first of all in the walls and graves. It is said that other mounds lie to the south of the creek and the whole area deserves investigation.

After the sack of Dehli, Muhammad fled in his way forward stage by stage and finally to Rawa for a final struggle with his opponent. The battle had been delayed by an outbreak of sickness in the Muslim host and the incident provides us with an interesting story of the use of dehydrated vinegar as a remedy seemingly with success. Hajjaj who had heard of the outbreak had sent (with military reinforcements) a whole flock of cotton which had been saturated to capacity in vinegar and allowed to dry. The recipients merely soaked the cotton in water, and the vinegar was extracted, cured, and reinforced they then advanced to meet the foe.

During the battle on June 20, 726, Dahar appears to have behaved with valour and determination. Even his elephant was scared by a naphtha ball which an arrow with which a young cutter was attached, and fell into the river, but the king turned his animal again upon the foe and fought until another arrow struck him to the ground. He then expired, a being placed upon a horse and charged to his death in the midst of the Arab host. The Hindus fled but were not yet beaten. They rushed again at Brahmanabad and retired to once up country, having as they went. After the Hindus capital fell and after it fell after fortress until in 726 the capture of Multan gave them a foothold in the Punjab. Two years after the victory Muhammad was recalled to Mesopotamia where his reward was death by torture in expiation of a feud.

This is not a history book and the further progress of the Arab invasion need not be recounted. Suffice it to say that the tide of conquest never penetrated far into the Punjab or Rajasthan. Arab influence was not of an enduring sort. By 871 when the Samanids began was divided into two independent Arab principalities with capitals respectively at Multan and formerly Brahmanabad and Multan the authority of the Caliph ceased there in all but name. It was not until the beginning of the eleventh century that the north was to fall to Islam and then the attacking sword was wielded by no Arab but by a Turkish slave king of Ghazni in Afghanistan.

Of the sites mentioned in the narratives of the Arab conquest one only has been submitted

to excavation and exploration the work was of a haphazard nature. Thus, the famous Brahminabad, the first of the great of Hyderabad, is now a wide range of masonry of brick and plaster with occasional fragments of rock wall and remnants of defences. Tattered remains of the Muslim capital Mahabubnagar were scattered in the same site have been further overlaid by the British city and the latter (the small and the stone structure) is now and then fragments of a forgotten city. The great rock wells of Mahabubnagar are an example of a civilization in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent for over 4000 years were also found and about the large mosque at Warangal a mass of masonry was thought to represent a lost sculptural. Six miles to the north-east at site after Deogarh (Mahabubnagar) a fine carved stone relief from the Gupta period was also discovered. On the same site a few miles to the south of the Eastern Chalukya and some apparently Gupta were found in the Gupta period and fragments of carved masonry in a variety of numerous heads and a few other fragments of these buildings were (see above p. 12), constitute a unique assemblage of ruins. In fact the place is virtually unexplored.

13. ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE: GENERAL PRINCIPLES

BEFORE we turn to the Islamic monuments of Pakistan, we may for a moment glance at certain of the general principles involved.

Every living architecture is controlled by three main factors: function, environment, and the genius of its fabricators. The essential function of Islamic architecture was to provide an oriented place of prayer, a screen wall containing a *mihrab* or niche to indicate the direction of Mecca, generally supplemented by a prayer-hall and courtyard. A widespread secondary function was to provide a pavilion which might be used as a possession for the living or a tomb for the honored dead. Both of these basic elements lent themselves to elaborate elaboration in which regional fashions emerged. To what extent the eighth century Arabs of Syria may have introduced their western models into Pakistan we do not know in the absence of surviving remains; there is at least no hint of specifically Arab influence in the later architecture of the country. But after A.D. 1000, from the Iran-Afghan plateau successive waves of Muslim invaders brought from time to time, both architectural principles and decorative details which interpretate the Islamic architecture of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, however extensively they may then have been transmitted or local taste and tradition. Amongst these Iranian elements were the domed dome, the rhythmic spreading of the prayer-hall and the use of brightly coloured tiles watered with the Persian architect sought to perpetuate the glories of the great springtime of the plateau and to imitate the more lasting glories of Paradise. At first the strongly battered sloping profile which was natural to the mud-brick architecture of the western deserts was unable to be replaced in the stone work of its new eastern counterpart. And the use of the voussoired arch and lime-mortar rubble-masonry work or concrete, long familiar to the West but little known in the Islamic times east of Iran, freed the Islamic fabricator from the limitations otherwise imposed by mud-brick or inferior stone in the fulfilment of his architectural function.

In the preceding paragraph the reader will already have observed that scarcely a dozen sentences can be written about a school of architecture without reference to environment. And before proceeding further we may usefully consider this matter a little more fully since without a proper understanding of it the personality of Muslim architecture in Pakistan and

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India cannot be properly understood. The primary fact is that Muslim and Indian is first and foremost a climate, both a desert and the plateau of stone are the primary backdrop of what is the hard geometry of rocky ridges. In contrast with this setting the Indian mosque is a simple cube or group of cubes with rigid, almost exteriorly, only a sudden modification of the flat stone surface. Whereas in the desert the surface is variegated by light and the geometric framework is the dominant note.

Now let us turn to the new environment to which the Islamic tradition was extended by the Muslims of Pakistan and India. It would be difficult to find a more completely alien landscape where the transparent city desert grows for India was first and foremost a land of jungle and forest-horizon. Today with a teen-age population which has probably trebled itself in a century and has to some extent been subjected to centralized schemes of development it is difficult to realize that the extent of the vast and tree-kissed forests of the Himalayas and the Pandyas moved and had their being. The medieval architecture of Hindustan is freighted with the influence of its jungle setting. Swathing in sinister sinister fantastically beautiful, it is a jagged background reflected in the often mysterious and sinister beauty of the sculpture which encompasses the fretted surfaces of the Hindu temple in the granite, depths of which in the mass mysterious darkness of a small bare oval harks the unending ahead in the pale of the ker of an unending. Nothing could stand in greater contrast to this environment and its intricate jungle art and architecture than the serene, sooty and open airiness of the architecture of the desert. In the whole history of architecture there are no more fascinating episode than that of the reconciliation of these two opposite traditions.

For reconciliation in great measure they were joined in a multitude of different and ingenious ways. With the certainty of the Muslim the use of the use of tiles for variegation was supplemented by a striking and original use of colored stones and marble for the same purpose, a medium more attuned to the traditional skill of the native mason. More significant was the gradual break up of the rigid square outline by the addition of pinnacles and pavilions until in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the building process began to assume a versatility which became essentially Indian rather than Islamic. The austerity of the jungle and tempered the austerity of the desert. Already by A.D. 1000 the Hindu architect (for example at Khajuraho) had learned to pile up pavilion on pavilion to support the great spire of his temples with a tumultuous crescendo of varied form. And now this principle was gradually transferred to mosque architecture so that particularly in the latter the Hindu temple no longer stood in stark isolation but emerged as the inevitable element of a complex and carefully coordinated design. The extreme development of this Indo-Islamic style was reached in the time of Akbar the Great whose buildings at Fatehpur Sikri (c. 1570) are a riot of Hindu fantasy within an Islamic framework.

So also, as we shall see in East Bengal. There the acute of local encroachment upon the invading desert is represented at least by the seventeenth century tomb of Fath Khan which is nothing more than a petrified sandstone but. But between these extreme and the main elements of Islamic architecture is an almost infinite gradation of mutual adjustments of which some will come to our notice on later pages.

Finally interpenetrating and transcending the other factors is that of the architect's own personality, his individual and idiosyncratic genius. This quality cannot be weighed and analysed but its presence is subject to instant recognition. In Pakistan and India Islam set the pattern and laid down a few general principles but it was normally the genius of the locality that inspired and vivified these canons. There were exceptions, for example the lovely

ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE, GENERAL PRINCIPLES

most precious of Tatta, isolated on the fringe of the Sindhi desert, are Iranian architecture transported with scarcely a modification, as in West Pakistan as a whole. By reason of its proximity to the coast and the scarcity of good local freestone and as native Indian masonry required the Indian technique was tended to maintain its ascendancy. But the rule is otherwise and there is surprisingly little in the major Islamic architecture of the Indo-Pakistan continent that cannot share some special quality of the art and the people of its adoption.

14. FROM THE ARABS TO THE MOGHULS

SAVE for the fragmentary mosques of Manshrāh, no architecture of the Arab period has endured in West Pakistan. Indeed no surviving mosque there is, with certainty or ascertained inference to the advent of the Moghuls, i.e. 1526. Nay more, were there for five or six seasons modernized tombs of sultans at Multan in the lower Punjab and one or two and a half at Multan, near Tatta in Sind, the whole architectural record of medieval India would here be annulled or practically so. The circumstances are a strange one, difficult to explain, even by the supposition that the orthodox, purging activity of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries resulted in a clear sweep of earlier and only a few structures, by way of some early mosque and part of the great Friday mosque of Manshrāh, which is supposed to have six palaces of tomb. Other early buildings have survived awaiting recognition. Whatever be the reason, for the present at any rate the fact remains as a Hindu goes to Pakistani architecture oblique.

In the circumstances the historical background, between the first of the seventh century invasions of Muslim lands of Ghazni in A.D. 1001 and the arrival of Babur, the founder of the Moghul dynasty in 1526, is not detailed as long. The new Muslim invasions were actively opposed at first by the Arab ruler of Mecca, who once threatened the Indian coast but was, therefore, regarded by Manshrāh as a friend. It was not until after the fall of Arab capital Mecca to the Muslims in 1068 and that a strict ban was set upon the import of Hindu pilgrims. His far flung sensuousness went to an interesting story of sex and power, lust and profit and year after year the wealth of Hinduistan was piled up in the palaces of Ghazni, jewelled and coloured pearls and rubies, studded like sparks or fire were covered with ice and even like ice from springs of crystal and colourless, size and weight like pomegranates. Of no lasting significance was the absorption of most of the Punjab into the Ghazni Sultanate into India. It was not until nearly a century after Mahmūd that the Ghaznavi dominion in India was materially extended, by the addition of new provinces centred on Nagaur, over 300 miles south of Lahore.

Meanwhile the Afghan or Iranian prince of Ghazni, a remote stronghold amongst the mountainous borderlands of Ghazni, had begun to threaten the Ghaznavi authority. In 1151 one of these captured at first the capital itself and in 1173 Mahmūd of Ghazni was established there as governor. Beyond the mountains and wilderness. By 1175 Mahmūd was at Multan, by 1187 Sind and the Punjab were in his hands. Five years later Mahmūd after a defeat, a great confederacy of all the leading Hindu rulers of northern Hindustan, between Karnal and Thanesar and Delhi and the plains of Hindustan lay at his feet. The final conquest of these regions was left to his brave general, Qutub-ud-Din Aibak, a native of Turkestan, who on Muhammad's death in 1206, established the Sultanate of Delhi. Thereafter, the history of

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West Pakistan merges into that of North India and need not here be pursued. We may turn to the enormous architectural record of the period.

One of the pre-Mughal tombs at Multan, the oldest in being is that of Shah Yusuf Qasbi and locates from A.D. 1352. It is an oblong brick structure with flat roof and tiled exterior which has been largely reconstructed. In front of the end walls is a minaret, otherwise the only external features are shallow projecting bay windows with narrow doorway. For effect the building repeats almost unchanged the vertical geometric patterns of its ribs. Next in date is the more important tomb of Bahauddin Zakariya who died in A.D. 1262. The square tomb chamber has the battlemented parapet walls which were to become characteristic of fourteenth century architecture at Delhi and elsewhere and were covered probably from mud brick construction. The chamber is surmounted by a shallow cupola with crenellated windows and above this again is a dome which if original is one of the two earliest examples of a true gas distinct from a conical dome seen at the Hittite and although we have seen a tentative essay in that direction at the pre-Islamic Kufi Kot p. 38. All these facts small particulars help to merge the three stages into one another and anticipate the use of small Hindu pavilions for this purpose in later Indo-Islamic design. The fourth building of the series is the tomb of Shah Rukn al-Din, who died at A.D. 1388 and re-interred in 1760 in a comparatively modern design. It was provided by the tomb of Shah Rukn al-Din who was martyred in A.D. 1370. Its tomb is of a similar kind but is small and unadorned, having at least escaped extensive restoration. The fifth tomb, that of the saint Rukn al-Din, built between A.D. 1320 and 1324, on the orders of Ghiasuddin Tughlaq, the ruler of Delhi, probably as his own intended resting place but subsequently given by Muhammad bin Tughlaq to the sultan, has been described as one of the most splendid monuments ever erected in honour of the dead (fig. 13 and pl. VIII). It is 115 feet high and acquires monumental command from the fact that it stands on the north-western edge of the site of the old fort. It is octagonal on plan, the earliest use of this form in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, with a sloping minaret attached to each angle. The three stages culminate in a low dome, the outlines of which skilfully continue and complement the sloping profile of the lower structure. The brickwork is carefully carved and perforated, a border of carved timbering whilst a extensive use of dark blue, green and white tiles with geometrical patterns raised from half an inch to two inches above the surface, lightens the building without detracting from its essential sturdiness. Interestingly the tomb was originally plastered and painted, but only a few traces of the decoration remain. The actual sarcophagus of the saint is of plain plastered brickwork, at the summit of a similar minaret to about 100 of his disciples. Architecturally the tomb marks an epoch in Indo-Islamic forms and in the plastic efforts which went to the making of a number of Delhi monuments during the following two centuries.

One or two other structures in West Pakistan may be ascribed to a pre-Mughal origin (p. 63) but cannot attain any high architectural status. Historically the most notable of these is, perhaps, the sarcophagus of Qutb-ud-Din Aibak, the conqueror of Delhi who was killed whilst paying polo in A.D. 1211. The true tomb grave can be found with difficulty in an obscure and now rather squalid street south of the Lodhi Gate in Lahore, but is modern externally.

With the advent of the Mughals, Lahore suddenly enters the front rank of Asian cities, and must shortly engage our attention in some detail. Before turning however to the old capital in the days of her greatness and to the metropolitan architecture of the grand Mughal, we may pause to consider certain provincial developments in Sind, which, though mostly of the Mughal period, represent a variant ancestry and in some sense serve as a foil.

MULTAN' TOMB OF RUKN-I ALAM

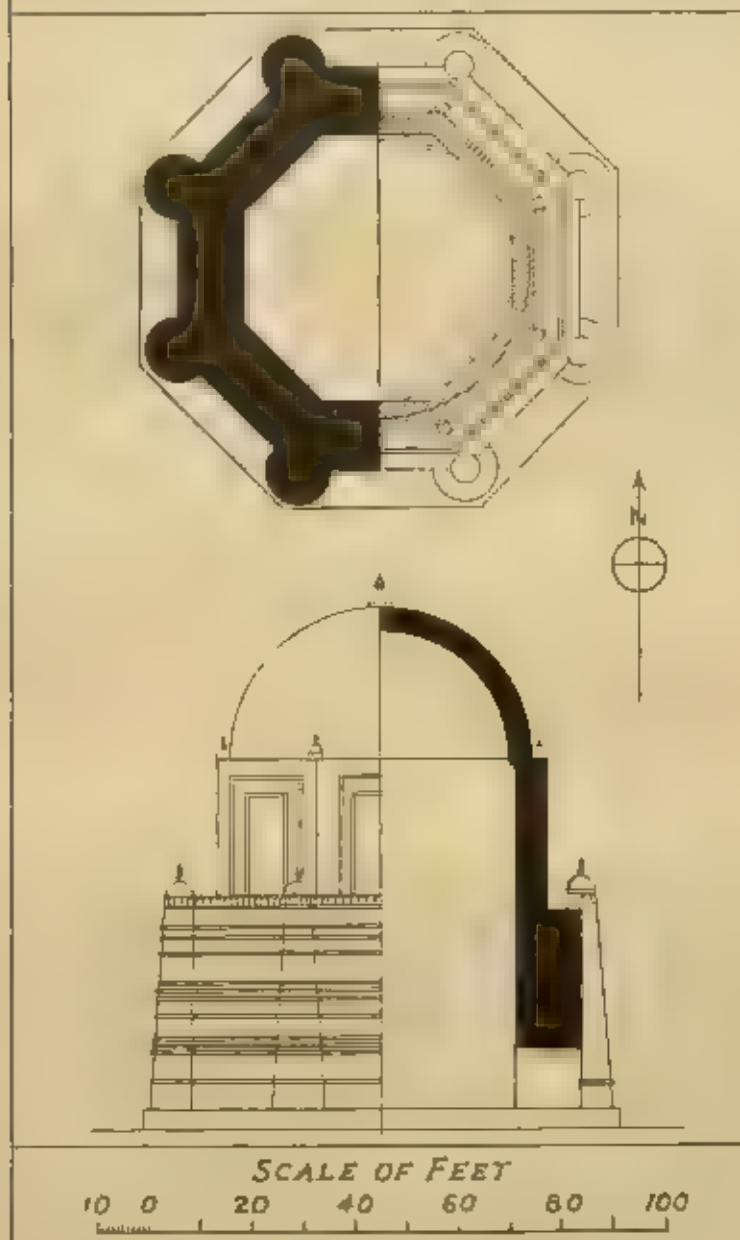


FIG. 13

(After Alexander Cunningham)

15. THE ARCHITECTURE OF SIND

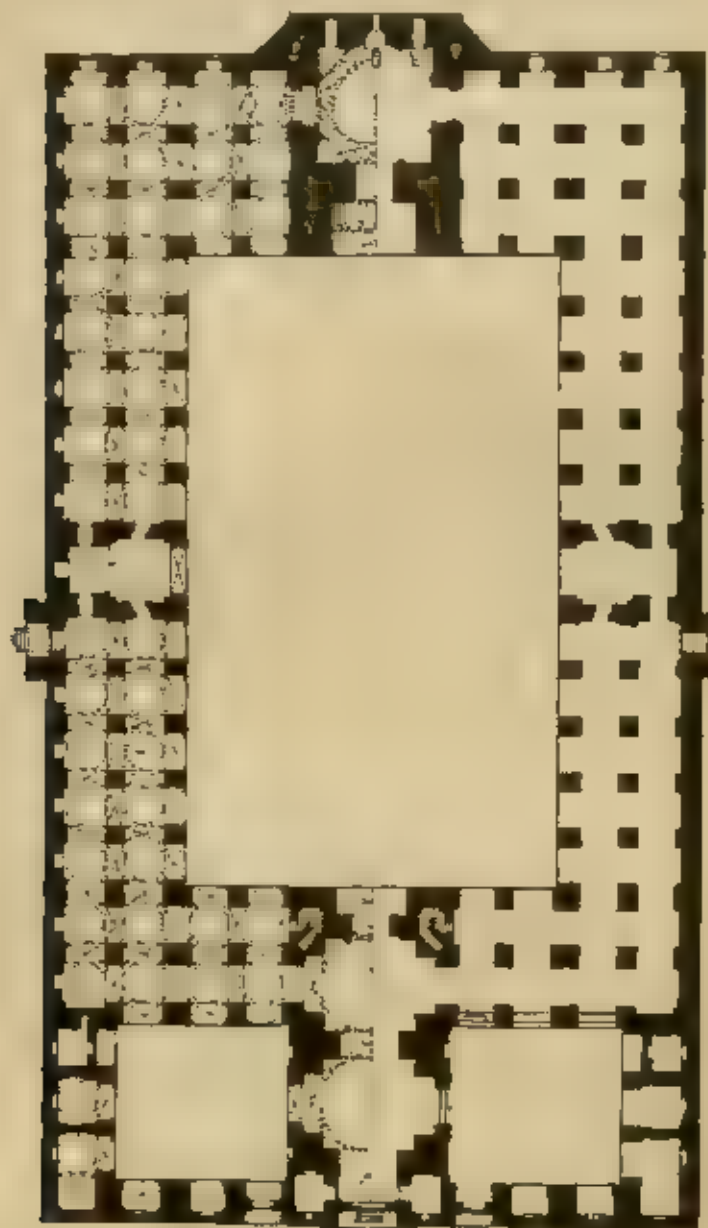
THE medieval and Moghul architecture of Sind like its history, has a character of its own, as a consequence partly of geographical seclusion from India and partly of accessibility by sea and land from the Iranian plateau. After the subjugation of the province by Mahmūd of Ghazni in A.D. 1026, Sind was weakly held by a Wazīr establishment at Multan but in 1060 the Sammas a Rajput tribe in Lower Sind, and in 1333 the Sammas, another Rajput tribe of the same region, successively broke away from the Ghaznavid and Delhi overlordship. The secession was not unopposed. In 1361 Muhammad bin Tughlaq, sultan of Delhi, led near the banks of the Indus what in pursuit of a rebel whom the Sammas had sheltered and was killed at Sehwan where an inscribed stone from his forgotten tomb lies below in the door of a *argah*. Muhammad had a successor Firoz Shah extruded himself with difficulty from the Samma territory and later took vengeance on the Sammas without, however destroying their independence. It was not until 1520 that their dynasty was repulsed and then not by Delhi but by a reputed descendant of Chingiz Khan driven out of Kandahar by the Moghul Babur.

The new ruler Shah Beg Arghūn established the short-lived Arghūn dynasty, with headquarters in the fortress of Sukkur which he rebuilt with bricks from the ancient Hindu capital of Aror. The one ended in 1561 and was succeeded for a short time by the Turghān dynasty whose advent was signalled by the sack of Tatta by the Portuguese in 1555. In 1592, Akbar whose interest in Sind was doubtless enhanced by the fact that it was born there, at least marked during the exile of his father incorporated the province in the Moghul empire. But the union was an uneasy one. In the seventeenth century the Durrani intruded after them, their kindfolk the Kalhoras resisted the Moghul authority from a new capital established by the former at Makrampur and the Kalhora jurisdiction over a part of Sind received formal recognition from the emperor Aurangzeb in 1704.

We need not follow further the conquests, history of the lower Indus valley. Erzog has been able to illustrate its heterogeneous, provincial character. On the other hand its links with Iran were sometimes very close and this relationship is well illustrated by the tilework for which Sind is famous—a craft still vigorously pursued particularly at New Hala 30 miles north of Hyderabad. Most examples have been cited above (p. 10), but it is at Tatta the fifteenth-century capital of the Sammas, that the purest and completest examples of the Persian mode survive.

Indeed in the presence of the two ancient mosques of Tatta the spectator is in Persia. The older of the two known as the Dargah Masjid is in a badly ruined state. It was built in A.D. 1588 by a prince—descendant of Chingiz Khan—and may have been the Jamā Masjid or Friday Mosque and the site of Shah Jahan's larger structure (see below). It consists of a prayer-chamber fronted by a low walled courtyard the former of typical Persian three-arched design with a flat dome on a double octagonal drum over every compartment. The structure is of brick some of the bricks being outlined in white and the mortar is red-brown with a widespread custom of stucco and the following centuries. The eaves are of stone delicately carved in low relief but the glory of the building is in the tilework of its interior. This is purely Iranian in character and the floral patterns in the spandrels of the two successive arches above the mihrab and in the lobes of the dome, the mihrab are rich and characteristic examples of their period. The *suqut* scheme is predominantly white, light blue and dark blue

TATTA: JAMI MASJID



SCALE OF 50 0 50 FEET

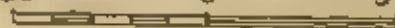


FIG. 14

THE ARCHITECTURE OF SIND

Other buildings on the ridge likewise include Hindu masonry. For example, two small pavilions close to the most northerly of the great tombs, that of Sayyid Ali Shāh, are built mostly of carved asalar derived from Hindu temples, including several monolithic columns. And even in contemporary Muslim work, as in a twelve-paired pavilion covering a grave near Mirza Tughra's tomb, the use of monolithic capitals with bracket-imposts betrays the Hindu tradition.

The largest stone building on the ridge is the great tomb of Mirzā Isā Tarkhān, governor of Tatta, who died in A.D. 1644. True, its grandiose scale is scarcely justified by any imaginative quality in its design. It consists of a square tomb-chamber carried up to a dome and surrounded by pillars, verandahs in two storeys, the upper roofed by a series of small domes. The outlines are basic, and the whole aspect is reminiscent of a dak bungalow rather than of a prince's mausoleum. The interest of the building lies in the richly carved surface-tracery with which the main structure and the enclosure-walls are profusely and ever extravagantly covered. Here the influence of tik-wārk is everywhere apparent. And, for all the Hindu basis of pillar and bracket, a strong if indirect Western influence is evident also in the recurrence of honeycomb pattern, particularly in the bracket-capitals, an element which is characteristic of Western Islam but was never very wholeheartedly adopted in India. It occurs elsewhere also on the Machi ridge.

The brick tombs have suffered badly from the robbing of the tiles upon which their interest now lies opened. The best preserved is the tomb of Diwan Shurfa Khan, a member of the Arghūn family, built in A.D. 1638. It is a massive square building with fortress-like towers at the corners and a central dome, the drum of which retains some of its eight blue tiles. The mahrab has also been decorated with blue and white tiles, but the most elaborate surviving detail is the gravestone, which is richly ornamented with panels of writing and interlace.

On the whole, the Machi tombs represent an essentially provincial section of craftsmanship which never reaches a very high level of attainment but is of interest as a mingling of vernacular tradition with imported modes. In other words, it is an exact reflection of regimes which were basically Rajput or Sindhi but were remotely in touch with Iranian ideas and fashions.

16. THE MOGHULS IN WEST PAKISTAN

Bābur	A.D. 1526-1530
Humayūn (first phase)	" 1530-1539
(Interlopers: Sher Shāh, A.D. 1539-54; Isām Shāh 1545-1553; Adālī, 1553-55)	
Humayūn (second phase)	A.D. 1555-1556
Akbar	" 1556-1605
Jalālār	" 1605-1627
Shāh Jahan	" 1627-1658
Aurangzeb	" 1658-1707

"BY the grace and mercy of Almighty God, this difficult affair was made easy to us and that mighty army in the space of half a day was laid in the dust." Thus wrote Babur, first of the Moghul emperors of India, after the battle of Panipat, where, on an April day of 1526, his small force of mountaineers aided by a few cannon broke the vast, unwieldy host of the last of the Delhi sultans. The victor of Panipat was inevitably the victor

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of Delhi and three years later the Moghul's dominion extended to Gwalior in the south and the borders of Bengal in the east.

The sultan who lay dead on the field of Panipat was Ibrahim, the third and last ruler of the Lodi dynasty. His great father, an Afghan, had been governor of the Punjab but in 1451 had seized the throne of Delhi which had never recovered from the ravages of Timur half a century previously. And now it was to a descendant of that same Timur that Delhi was once more opened its gates. For Babur was a full-blooded descendant from Timur on the direct male line and the blood of Chengiz Khan likewise flowed in his veins, and when ancestry for a new dynasty that was above all others to enrich the land which it had conquered. We need not recount the intrigues which had brought Babur upon the scene, nor the subsequent episodes of Moghul conquest. It will suffice to recall that Babur's grandson Akbar the Great (A.D. 1556-1605) ruled in his latter years from the Hindu Kush to the Bay of Bengal and from Kashmir to the Deccan. Within that vast and heterogeneous empire there was no real cultural unity but now for the first time since the arrival of Islamic ideas and forms began to circulate widely beyond the localities of their origin and we can detect some semblance of a pervasive Imperial Style.

Under the three Lodis the kingdom of Delhi had flourished, and its architecture forms the local basis upon which Moghul design was subsequently elaborated. In particular the use of small pavilions, of Hindu derivation, to lighten the outlines of a tomb building and to "support" the main dome, although not invented by the Lodi architects, was adopted and transmitted by them. But with their unguessed resources and catholic taste the Moghuls effected nothing short of a revolution in the Indian scene. More than any other line they succeeded not merely in unplugging their own ideas, but in getting the best out of the traditional genius of their native workmen. In doing so, they received as much as they gave, and at its best their architecture presents perhaps the most brilliant and satisfying composition of opposite elements in the whole history of building.

In Pakistan it is at Lahore that the most substantial relics of their architectural achievements remain. There we have on the grand scale examples covering the whole range of the metropolitan style of the Moghuls. This was evolved primarily in the time of Humayun, the second Moghul, and at the onset included four main features: (i), an increasing preference for the bulbous, wide-domes in work of the highest class; (ii), the liberal use of pavilions of partially Hindu extraction to crown minarets, "bunk-up" domes (see above), and break the rigid lines of the great gateways which are a feature of the mosques and fortresses of the period; (iii), the use of ornate windows which again owe much to Hindu woodwork and masonry, and (iv), a fondness for the rich red Mathura sandstone, the surface of which might be varied by patterns inset in white and black marble and grey or red stone from various sources. In this last feature again the invader was making free use of the superb skill of the native mason, and the polychrome stonework of Moghul architecture became in some measure the Indian counterpart of the variegated tilework of Iran. Indeed so generously was the Hindu mason encouraged by his earlier Moghul employers that in the time of Akbar architectural detail was predominantly Hindu and included elements such as animal forms which were normally excluded from the Islamic repertoire. In the time of the fourth Moghul Shahjahan (A.D. 1627-58) there was a partial reaction against this catholicity and a new court style came into being based upon a sterner use of gleaming white marble in preference to the somewhat heavy Mathura stone, of slenderer multi-cusped arches, of mind-flower patterns of an exotic type and particularly at Lahore, of mosaic tilework of Iranian origin. This elegant aristocratic

THE MOGHULS IN WEST PAKISTAN

eratic style culminated in the Tāj Mahal as many exquisite buildings and about the fortresses of Agra, Delhi and Lahore. Later again after the more absolute rule of Aurangzēb (A.D. 1658-1707) there was a further reaction, the time it was a simplicity which may possibly be ascribed as much to an increasing assistance on the part of the architect as to deliberate self-discipline on the part of his patron.

A further word may be said about the mosaic tile-work which lent so much colour to Lahore architecture in the second and third quarters of the seventeenth century. From the thirteenth century onwards a variegated tile-work has been popular in Sind and the lower Punjab, which were accessible geographically to influences from the west and were at the same time cut off by desert from the east. Examples of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have been noted at Multan, and others of the sixteenth century are to be found at Lahore itself and, above all, as we have seen, at Tatta. Now it may be recalled (p. 20) that Shah Shāh had visited Tatta as an exiled prince and had there doubtless worshipped in the beautiful tiled Dabīr mosque, which was probably then the *Jāmi Masjid* or Friday mosque of the place. That the occasion had favourably impressed itself upon his mind is due very probably to the fact that he later established there a new and larger *Jāmi Masjid* in the same Persian tiled technique. Certain it is that this form of decoration attracted him, and that under his patronage occurred a remarkable renaissance of the craft at his nearest capital Lahore. The beginning of the renaissance is marked by a sudden efflorescence of tilework of a very notable kind and quality in his additions to Lahore fort (p. 20), dated by inscription to A.D. 1631-32, although the friezes in Jahangir's tomb must have been nearly contemporary. Thereafter in the thirteenth and first half of the century, building after building in the vicinity of Lahore displayed the work of this new school of masonry. The introduction of human and animal subjects which distinguished the tile-work in the secular fort-wall was not, so far as we know, repeated, and would in any case have been inappropriate to the mosques and tombs which constitute most of the other surviving examples, but floral patterns and borders which combine a great variety in detail with the general stamp of a single group of workshops became almost a matter of routine in the formal architecture of the Lahore court. Impetus carried the fashion into the earlier decades of Shah Jahan's pontifical successor Aurangzēb: a small mosaic-tiled mosque near the site of the Taxakh Gate is said to have been built in A.D. 1673, and tiling was somewhat half-heartedly applied to the upper part of Dai Agā's tomb in A.D. 1671. But by the latter part of the century the great days of Shah Jahan's school were over and, in so far as tilework remained in vogue, there was a general reversion from mosaic work to the simpler and easier technique of painted square tiles of standard sizes.

A further word may be said on the question of technique. As the term implies in mosaic tilework the small colour units are each cut to the shape required and fitted together to form the pattern, the individual tile being of a single colour. This technique is restricted primarily to Persia and secondarily to north-western India. In the former country it was perfected at least as early as the fourteenth century, in India perhaps the latest example is a simple geometrical mosaic pattern on the dado of the sixteenth-century tomb of Mumtaz Jahān near the Qutab at Delhi. Although it was not until after the middle of the century, in Akbar's reign, that this type of decoration began to take root as in the ruined Khwāh-i-mahmūd mosque (A.D. 1565) near the Delhi Fort and Qutab. By that time the white and blues which had hitherto been used on the square tiles of the thirteenth and fourteenth century at Multan had been supplemented by yellow and green, but naturalistic patterns, although familiar in Persia, had not yet appeared in the mosaic technique in India. It was the further

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elaboration of the colour-scheme and the widespread use of naturalistic flora, mosaic tiling, under continued Persian influence, marked the contribution of the seventeenth century craftsmen of Shāhjahān's Lahore.

At first the Lahore school may well have derived some of its subject-matter from mural painting which was ahead of it in naturalistic development. If so it proceeded to imitate its master. In the mosque of Mariām Zamani built in A.D. 1614 in Jalāngīr's reign the decoration is exclusively painted and of the highest quality (p. 83). A quarter of a century later, painting is normally subordinate to tilework or inlay and its quality has deteriorated; the delicacy and *current* of the Mariām Zamani painting have given place to coarser artist-work and more conventional types. On the tiled buildings it is usually confined to the somewhat awkward intricacies of half-moons (although even here tiles are often used), to subordinate niches, to haek-excavations and to interiors. The stronger and indeed more architectural quality of tilework dominates the field.

Another accompaniment of the fashion for tilework was a tendency to restrict the architectural development of the buildings thus decorated and to approximate them more closely than was otherwise normal at this period to the severity of traditional Iranian forms. The strength and firmness of mosaic tilework brook no rival. All that is required is a plain wall, on which to hang it as one might hang a Persian rug from a balcony on a festival. Hence, alongside new architecture, enterprise there was during the prevalence of the Court style of Shāhjahān a constant recurrence to Iranian convention. A notable example of this is Wazīr Khān a mosque built in 1634 at Lahore (p. 85). Here, there are indeed spectacularly Indian elements. The design is dominated by four great octagonal minarets each terminating in a semi-Hindu pavilion and the great gateway has two ornate windows and two more pavilions likewise of Indian character. But for the rest the outlines have the simple austerity of those of a Persian mosque and the building depends for its interest upon the rich Persian mosaic tilework which these outlines frame. It is in effect a scaffolding for the display of richly variegated ornament. Purists sometimes object that such use of a structure as a mere boarding for structurally irrelevant decoration is contrary to one of the fundamental axioms of good building. The objection is without weight. There is here in fact, no visual conflict between the architecture and the decoration. The elementary functional lines of the former at once allay all anxiety in the mind of the spectator as to structural problems and release his attention for non-structural interests, without which the building would have, and is intended to have, almost no aesthetic appeal. For its purpose and its place, the quiescent satisfaction which the design thus procures is its complete justification and its glory and the dissatisfied spectator, if such in fact there be, is at liberty to depart westwards for the restless battleground of a Gothic cathedral and to stay there. He has no understanding of the East.

ROHTÁS FORT

In West Pakistan, the earliest characteristic work of the Mughal period was, in fact, made by the Afghan interloper Sher Shāh Sūrī, who usurped the throne of the second Mughal emperor Humayūn in A.D. 1540 carrying out a number of important constructive works in Delhi and the Punjab and was eventually buried in a remarkable and famous tomb at Sasārat in Bihar. The most important surviving structure of this reign in the West Punjab is the great fortress of Rohtās which stands along a commanding ridge 12 miles north-west of Thokar. It was named from an ancient and redoubtable fortress in western Bihar where Sher Shāh had ousted the Hindu ruler in A.D. 1539. The new site

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was chosen with a view for a double purpose:—to bar the possible return of the deposed Humayun, who fled to Sind and subsequently to Persia, and to control those who are a number of potential supporters the territories of which are north of the Salt Range. Prior to the construction of the Great Trunk Road, Rhatas was known as a main road between Lahore and Panwar and a centre of far-travel traffic between the mountains and the north of the Salt Range and the plains south of it, as preserved in the ruins of a Moghul *serai* about a mile to the north of the fortress. The rock-cut cavity here is the main natural road-trail, along the side of the range, and not for the reasons of history, this strong and western aspect of Hinduism might as it have played a major and important strategic and tactical role. In the event of having stood a siege and its last throes to fame is that it supplied the emperor Jahangir with some particularly ancient partridges when he sat on there as he did more than once during his journeyings.

For the general design and present condition of the fortress, the description in the *Punjab District Gazetteers* may be quoted:

The fort of Rhatas has a circumference of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles and a dividing wall, in which is about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile long; the walls are at their base in many places 30 feet thick and from 30 to 50 feet high. There are 68 towers or bastions and 12 gateways, on the walls are everywhere places for musketry or archery, and here and there for cannon. In the parapets near the gateways are machicoulises from which a fireman could be posted, or attacking troops. The fort has never stood a serious siege, and even in medieval warfare would have taken a long time to take it for some of the gates are remarkably easy of access, but poorly constructed. It is now in a ruinous condition, especially on the northern side, where a considerable section of the walls has collapsed. In other places the fortifications of soft sandstone have worn away, leaving the walls supported only by the excellent masonry with which they were constructed. Many of the gateways are however still imposing, the finest being the *Sahib Gate* facing Tila, which is over 70 feet high; the bulk-head on the outer walls of this gate are fine specimens of the work of the time, and the whole gateway is perfect in spite of the use to which its upper part has been put as a street recess (see pl. XII). The next gateways after the *Sahib Darwaza* are the *Khwas Khali*, where the road from Jhelum enters the fort, and the *Langer Khwa*, on the north side. The northern part of the fort is separated from the rest by an interior wall much the same as those on the outside, so as to form a kind of *andar-kot*, within it is a small high building of incongruous appearance, said to have been erected by Man Singh, the twin of Akbar. The fort contains two *hauz* or wells with flights of steps on one side giving access to the water, now it is difficult to be found in them, the smaller contains a small round mosque of the same period as the rest of the fort, and there are several inscriptions over gateways, but nothing of importance.

It would appear that no extensive residential buildings were ever constructed within the fortress, and the most elaborate architectural features are the gateways referred to above. They are built of fine sand and consist of an archway set in a tall arched recess, which is flanked by solid walls constructed in Hindu brickwork (pl. X); the whole construction moderate strength with grace in a manner that was to characterize the mature Moghul architecture for a 150 years.

OLD LAHORE

But it is in Lahore and its environs that Moghul architecture is most rich and completely represented in Pakistan. Lahore is recorded to have been at one time a dependency of the great Lulaimiya, king of Kashmir (eighth century A.D.) and may have been the capital of a

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Rajput state, but its pre-Islamic history is negligible and does not concern us here. In A.D. 1022-23 it was seized by Mahmūd of Ghazni and thereafter had a chequered career of no great distinction, even Timur, who had handed it over to a subordinate to sack, until the Moghuls selected it as a capital city in the sixteenth century. And so legendry history begins at present with their regime. There is no doubt at all careful burrowing into the high mound or *tell* in which the Moghul fortress stands would extend our knowledge backwards to an incalculable extent and beneath the old city are the accumulations of some at least of its predecessors. But pending excavation, our material knowledge of Lahore begins with Akbar's fortified palace.

Akbar is credited, too, with the city walls, which were reconstructed by Ranjit Singh in A.D. 1812 and are said to have been 30 feet high but have almost completely vanished within the last 50 years. They are shown as complete on a town-plan of 1863 in the Punjab Record Office at Lahore, and their outline is still intact, save for the north-west corner, on the 6-inch Survey map of 1891 (fig. 15). The walled area was $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from east to west and upwards of $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from north to south and formerly abutted on the river Ravi, which has moved northward since the middle of the seventeenth century. The town-defenders approached the fortress to the north of Akbar's east gate, and on the other side joined the north-western corner of the Badshahi mosque-enclosure which thus from Aurangzēb's time onwards constituted a part of the defensive system.

Today the actual structure of the town-walls is represented only by rare fragments. The junction with the Badshahi mosque is indicated by a short length of high brickwork a few courses high, with the base of a small semi-octagonal tower or buttress. A scrap of the brick core of the south-west corner tower and a few yards of brick wall with a round-fronted tower immediately south-west of the Delhi Gate can still be identified, together with 100 yards of mixed brickwork to the west of the Sherānwāhī Gate. The course of the ditch, which is said to have been dug or re-dug by Ranjit Singh and to have been faced with brick, is represented by a continuous stretch of more or less decaying garden, and the inner brick wall of the sewer which marks the former frontage of the wall in the south-western quarter is probably a fragment of the out-catch revetment. Of the thirteen gates, only Aurangzēb's Roshnā Gate, which opens from the north into the Hazūri Bagh between the Badshahi mosque and the fort, remains much as it was built (A.D. 1673). It is of simple design, flanked by semi-octagonal plastered and painted towers and crowned by a dome which was rebuilt by the Sikhs after the collapse, but caused the death, of Kharm Singh, grandson of Ranjit Singh, on the day of his accession in 1840. Of the other entrances, seven are still marked by structures mostly of relatively modern date. A great four-centred arch, partly filled in with later work, on the inner face of the Delhi Gate may be as old as Akbar, but the building is otherwise of the nineteenth century, with a monumental colonnaded front in European style. The Bāb al-Raqīqī and Sāranwāhī or Khuzri (ferry) gates are fortal and imposing substitutes not earlier than the middle of the last century, and the Aghari Gate is as late as 1886-87. The Lehari and Shah Alam gates are mainly of Sikh workmanship completed in 1863-64. The former has semi-octagonal towers and a plastered front with decaying ornament of Moghul ancestry, and the Shah Alam in spite of the derivation of its name from that of the son of Aurangzēb, is of the same type but with round-fronted towers. Externally at least the old city has little to show of its antiquity.

Within the walls there is little of interest. There is no evidence that the town was ever systematically planned and the present narrow wandering streets with picturesque im-

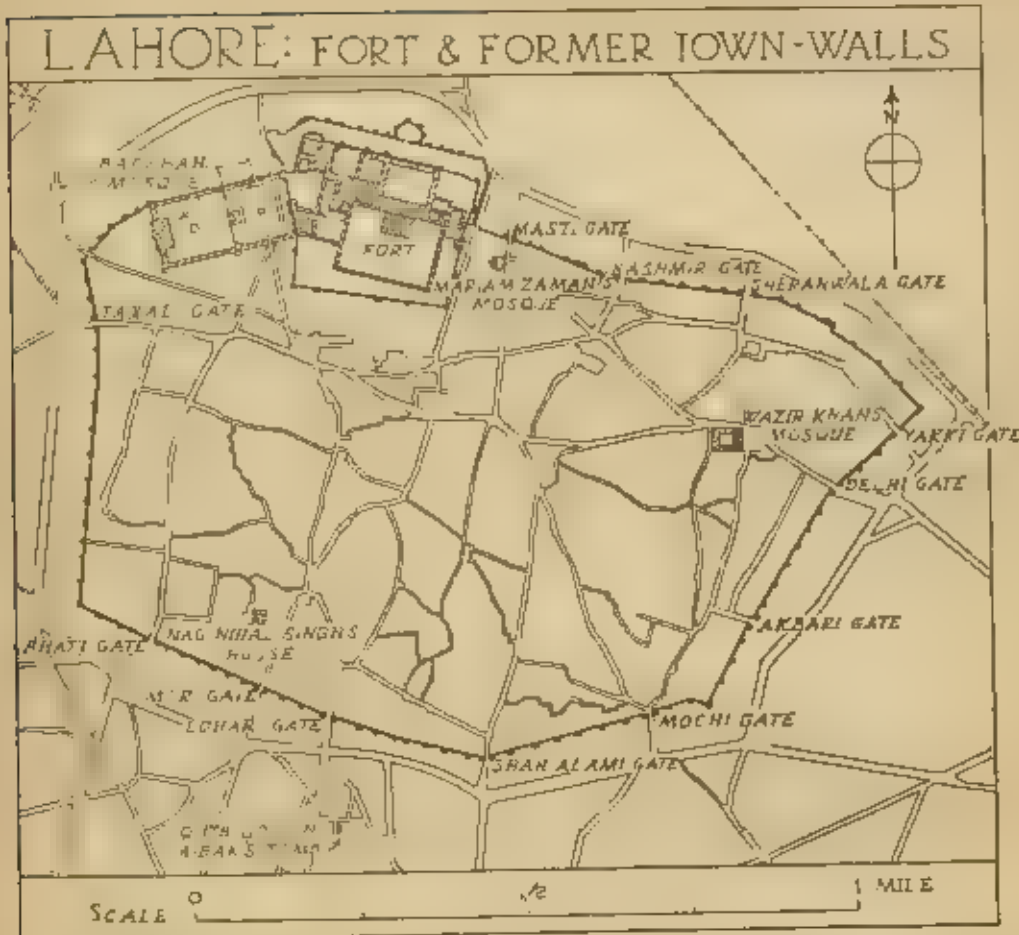


FIG. 15

pending houses and shops in various stages of decay probably follow traditional lines. Here and there survive a few buildings which give some impression of the architecture of the city in its prime. Elaborately carved wooden doorways, window frames and shutters such as occur, for example, in ruined houses up a narrow alley off the Waccho-Wad street in the Gumbi Bazaar area, are relics of the fine carving which the Moghul pattern adapted from the Hindu tradition, and may be ascribed to the beginning of the seventeenth century if not earlier. Similar examples are preserved in the Lahore Museum, but such survivals are now few and are rapidly vanishing (pl. XVII). Most of the older buildings are of the late Moghul type which the Sikhs destroyed, and date from the end of the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century. At their best, these survivals are rich and attractive, if overwrought, examples of the style in its baroque decadence as applied to houses in cramped city sites. Of the *havelis* or palaces which at one time gave a greater spaciousness to certain parts of the town, the finest surviving example is that of Prince Nao Nihal Singh, a further north of the site of the Mori

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Gate (pl. XVIIa) The prince was the son of the Maharaja Singh who was killed in 1840, so that the house may be ascribed to about 1830-40. It is therefore strictly outside the scope of this volume but as a late representative of the old palace tradition it may be briefly described. It is of brick, some 100 feet square in plan, and of two storeys arcaded round a central courtyard and further supported by internal arcades, all with multi-cusped arches. The four corners are carried up from one to two further stages in brick and timber. The building is now used by the Victoria Girls' High School and most of the rooms are whitewashed, although experiment has shown that the original paintings survive at least in part under the coating. In the north-west corner the top stage has, however, been left in its original condition with a painted and mirrored ceiling and walls elaborately and effectively painted with three ranges of panels, the lowest containing floral groups and the others depicting lively scenes from the Krishna legend. The work having regard to its place, date and function is of good quality in a style remarkably akin to that of the eighteenth century Kangra School, and the general aspect of the room is both rich and entertaining. Externally there are further painted panels on the north-west entrance wing with floral and figure subjects but in a poorer state of preservation. This part of the façade carries also four wooden oriel windows, two of them carried on Hindu animal brackets and three of them roofed with two semi-domes above curved Bengali pents or eaves, of which we shall see examples, earlier by two centuries in Shahjahan's work within the fortress (p. 82).

But in our estimate of Lahore in its grandeur, it is necessary to realize that the walled city was merely the nucleus or hard core of a spreading capital of which populous suburbs and bazaars extended in many directions along the river to the west of the city towards the Shahjahan where the wondrous "Mughalpara" grew up on the site of the present Begumpara about the site of the railway station, and, indeed, approximately to the far-dung limits of the present built-up area. And the size of Mughal Lahore reflected not merely court-patronage, but also the commercial importance of the place as a natural traffic centre in an imperial India. "Merchants resort to this city out of all parts of India," wrote Richard and John Crowther themselves two English traders who visited Lahore in 1626. "Twelve or fourteen thousand camels laden pass yearly from hence to Persia by Kandahar." Already in the previous century Abul Faza had been able to write that Lahore was "the resort of people of all nations from every city and wonderful works have been made here. In extent and population it far surpasses the average." "The choicest products of Iran and Turan," he adds, "could be had here." In 1641 the Spaniard, Sebastian Manrique, observed that the population, permanent and temporary, far exceeded the capacity of the town. Lahore, he wrote, "a large and capacious but there were not houses enough for the accommodation of the people who were encamped for half a league outside the city. It is handsome and well-ordered with large gateways and pavilions of various colours. I entered the city, a very difficult undertaking on account of the number of people who filled the streets, some on foot, some on camels, some on elephants and others in small carts jolting one against the other as they went along. Those who best could, passed first. This being the receiving hour at Court, many of the gentry were proceeding there, accompanied by as many as five hundred followers on horseback."

We will join these gentry and go with them to the fortress-palace on the northern fringe of the town.

LAHORE FORT

The major group of secular Moghul buildings in Pakistan is at Lahore but for its fully rounded completion would be that of the Old Fort near the north-western angle of the (formerly) walled town of Lahore (fig. 10). There had been a fort, presumably on this site, as early as the invasion of Mahmud of Ghazni in the twelfth century A.D. but of this only a few ruins are known. Extensive Sikh and other fortifications the present fort was built in later Mughal phases. The first phase dates from the time of Akbar and Jahangir and is marked by an inscription of the year A.D. 1617-18 set over the entrance to a small courtyard at the north-western corner of the great court of the Diwan-i Aam. The second phase represents the work of Shah Jahan and is dated in part to A.D. 1631-32 by an inscription over the Elephant Gate (*Hathi Pota*) the private entrance to the palace (p. XIVa). The third phase comprises the main West Gate with the adjacent walls which fit to the fort the oblique lines of the Hazuri Bagh, built by Aurangzeb in A.D. 1673 as a part of the layout of his great Badshahi Masjid or Imperial Mosque (p. 92). This fine gate provided access from the fort to the mosque.

To the first phase belong the East Gate flanked by semi-cylindrical paneled towers and the walls and towers (in so far as they are ancient) on the east, the south, the eastern part of the north side and the southern part of the west side. The south side (towards the town) has, however, been badly damaged in modern times. The area thus enclosed constituted an oblong some 400 by 150 feet which was divided longitudinally by walls and buildings into two parts, the public area on the south and the more private quarters on the north. The material generally used in this phase was brickwork complemented by the red Mathura sandstone and everywhere the elaborately carved bracket construction of the Hindu tradition is in evidence. Indeed so strong is that tradition that even animal figures are included in the design in conflict with strict Islamic custom.

The principal feature of the southern area was a huge court or quadrangle, 730 feet by 460 feet which was surrounded originally by ranges of vaulted chambers, now mostly destroyed. In the court under awnings assembled the courtiers, petitioners, visitors and other folk to whom the emperor showed himself daily from a throne-room on the first floor of a building on the northern side. The throne-room is covered by a marble pavilion and is carried forward as a balcony on sandstone brackets.

Behind the throne room is the Quadrangle of Jahangir flanked by the remains of buildings with elaborate carved porticoes of Mathura stone. These porticoes are notable for the intricate decoration of their pillars, for the delicately honeycombed capitals of some of these and above all for the fantastic carpentry of the brackets which carry the pent-roof *chhatras*. The involved shapes of the brackets are as appropriate to timberwork as they are alien to masonry and have in many cases strained even the comparatively Mathura sandstone beyond capacity. The Hindu character of the work extends to the shameless inclusion of elephants, lions and peacocks as central features of the design. Altogether the result is bizarre and entertaining if not, perhaps, sound architecture.

In the centre of the court is a square tank with fountains surrounded by a garden. To this, Jahangir himself carelessly refers in the following passage of his Memoirs:

"On Monday the 9th of the Divine month of Azar corresponding with the 5th Muharrar of A.H. 1030 November 30 A.D. 1620 moving an elephant of the name of Indra, I went towards the city scattering coins as I proceeded. After three watches and two ghantas of day had passed, at the selected auspicious hour having

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entered the royal residence. I awaited happily and auspiciously at the building recently brought to completion and finished unanimously by the exertions of Ma'nūr Khān. Without exaggeration, charming residences are soon turning sitting places and been erected in great beauty and beauty, adorned and embellished with plantings by rare artists. Pleasant green gardens with all kinds of flowers and sweet-scented herbs deceived the sight.

'From here, to fort how sweet turn where I please,
Soft glances at my heart cry, Take thy ease.'

The Ma'nūr Khān (' Lord Architect ') mentioned by the emperor was the 'Anūd-Karīm who is associated in the inscription over the Elephant Gate as the architect of the Shāh Burj added by Shāh Jahān (see below).

To this emperor in the second of our three phases was due the erection of the 40 pillared Hall or Diwan. And in front of the throne room. As it stands the arches, roof and pavement of this hall are modern and the pillars have been clumsily re-erected. The building projects into the great court on a raised enclosure by a radiating railing, and the outer row of pillars was once connected by a marble railing the two railings serving to separate the different grades of courts. But the principal surviving contribution of Shāh Jahān was the completion of the north western quarter of the fort begun by Jahāngīr with the Elephant Gate (pl. XIV) the great semi-octagonal Royal Tower or Shāh Burj at the corner and an adjacent building of ironwork in marble. The exterior of the fort wall here presents a series of mosaics the panels with are amongst the most remarkable in Asia. With the licence and readiness typical of the emperor and his two predecessors, Shāh Jahān threw conversion to the winds and the painter depicted human and animal forms in a lively entertaining fashion, with unorthodox and unexpurgated gusto. The subjects include court officials, a goat and monkey man, a cup-bearer, footmen carrying candelsticks and flowers, richly caparisoned horses, a standard-bearer on an elephant, a dragon pursuing a goat, a camel fights a elephant fights a game of polo and many other subjects. The horses and camels and certain horned winged figures suggest a Persian origin, and there can be little doubt that the master-craftsman came from Iran. It is equally probable that he set up his workshop at Lahore, and that whoever he was, he was a genius.

Within the north western corner is a square enclosure which forms a part of the domestic quarters of the prince. On the north side of the enclosure is the famous marble hall known as the Shāh Mahal or Hall of Mirrors (pl. XIIIa). It opens into the square through an arcade of double pillars carrying multi-lobed arches and filled with vine and flower patterns in semiprecious stones. The *postes d'arc* relief is a notable feature of the marbework of Shāh Jahān whatever its origin may be, and this is disputed, it is repeated with Iranian elements and has nothing to do with India. Indeed the decorative details of this phase as a whole show a reaction from the liberal Hinduism of the previous phase and constitute a refined aristocratic eclectic art as distinct from the more broadly based and robustly democratic art of Akbar's time.

Internally the hall has a marble floor, but the walls are otherwise decorated with a mosaic of glass inlaid in plaster a form of ornamentation known anciently as "Ayyūghāsh" a reference presumably to the long standing tradition of Syrian glass production. The ceiling decoration which is relatively restrained is apparently original but the walls, which include also tiles of blue and white (ayūghāsh), are a vivid reminder of the early nineteenth century. This late period is also responsible for the structures which now surmount the hall.

On the west side of the square is one of the charming little marble 'Beaugh'

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pavilions which with their convex roofs derived from Bengal and India illustrate the cosmopolitanism of the Imperial style. The great space on the west wall of the Diwan known as the *Namaskha* is an interesting feature rather than a bona fide cult compartment in harmony with its extravagant setting. The architecture with other primary *patra dura*, but that of the upper parts of the walls is a creditable work possibly of the same period to which the paintings and narrow strips of tile work, each of which certainly belong.

The most important of Shahjahan's other additions to the fort is the open colonnaded pavilion known as the Great *Khawaga* or Little *Simpur* room, but more likely to have been the *Diwan-e-Khas* or Hall of Private Audience. It also is of white with white cusped arches, a raked roof and a *patra dura* cresting inlaid with *patra dura*. It is a relative simplicity of design, probably one of two ordered by Shahjahan in A.D. 1633. It stands on a platform and overlooks a square garden where, according to the Qutab inscription, a *chahar* on the west. Further west again is the court known as the *khwa* at *khwa*, where in sixteenth or not earlier persons of distinction were advised with the ruler, *Faruk* (A.D. 1630). On the south side of the court is the imperial *hammam* or bath, building, probably of Shahjahan's time.

The date of the tiny marble mosque known as the *Moti Masjid* or Pearl Mosque, adjoining the small courtyard at the north-west corner of the great court of the *Diwan-e-Khas* is not recorded. The prayer chamber is fronted by five small cusped arches and is surrounded by three bulbous domes emphasized by unusual cavetto moldings at their bases. The multi-fold cusping of the arches and the character of the *patra dura* on the cresting of prayer chamber and courtyard point to Shahjahan, and this indication is supported by the recurrence of the cavetto at the base of the domes on *Dār Anga's* mosque (p. 86), which is dated approximately to A.D. 1635. Apart from its material the Pearl Mosque is unpretentious, but its proportions are satisfying and it is a graceful little building, happily secluded in its character as the private Chapel Royal of the Palace.

The principal feature of the third phase is the monumental gateway (pl. XV A) which Aurangzeb constructed as an exit from the fort to the enclosure in front of his new mosque, the Badshahi Mosque to the west of it. The design of the flanking towers, which are boldly fluted and are clasped at the base by a range of stupas, is highly original and has indeed a certain flamboyance which would scarcely have been sanctioned by this severely orthodox emperor in his later years. The towers are crowned by Hindu pavilions which add a further element of lightness and grace. The work as a whole forms a fitting climax to a century of creative construction which was followed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by a variety of additions of little or no interest. After many vicissitudes, the fort was finally occupied in 1749 by the youthful Sikh leader, Ranjit Singh, and to him may be ascribed the outer defences on the northern and north-western sides, including the outer gateway through which the visitor now approaches Shahjahan's Elephant Gate. In the interior many rugged buildings belong to the Sikh period and the subsequent British military occupation in the nineteenth century completed the destruction of much that which today have been valued and have been preserved with the care which has been lavished upon the fort during the past 30 years.

But, wrecked and patched though it now be, the fortress has still an aura of majesty which is unforgettable, whether in the afternoon when the fountains temper the enclosed heat of Jahangir's Quadrangle and the doves and mynas flutter noisily in the shadows, or when at high fall the air of the great courtyard of the *Diwan-e-Khas* is heavy with jasmine and from the southern battlements the eye looks down upon the crowding heights of the city that is the old city.

THE MOGHULS IN WEST PAKISTAN

From the fortress it is time to turn to other surviving monuments of Moghul rule in the vicinity. Later we will travel abroad along the ancient highway that links Lahore with the north-western frontier.

THE TOMB OF SHEIKH MUHA AHANGAR

About 600 yards south-west of Lahore railway station is the oldest Moghul building in Lahore, just at the fortress. A brick building 11.5 feet square externally with a fine doorway, the burial place of a certain Sheikh Musa Ahangar with a range of the *chhatra* (umbrella) gate system in central was rising early in Akbar's reign. The monument is not especially distinguished. The figures, characters, etc. of the name inscription in the interior are the design of a calligrapher and are consistent with a date in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Externally the walls are paneled, the panels contain four central medallions and appear to have been painted. In each space a four-centred doorway to the interior looking and represented by the original details. The space above its arch is a central arch and the upper part of the facade are tiled, the one with green enamel and the other horizontally, the remainder with square tiles set diagonally and bearing floral patterns in white and blue. But at the top of the dome is a medallion, cresting. Internally the building is plastered and paneled with elaborate tracery and arabesques in relief in the panels and in the spandrels of the squinches on which the dome is carried. The latter was painted, but some at least of the existing painting is not original. In the west north and south walls are niches with decorative plasterwork. The gate is a simple brick construction finished with plaster and whitewash.

The tomb is of importance as the only surviving example of pre-Shahjahan tilework at Lahore. Its plain decoration and the complete absence of the red, blue and of a colour other than blue or the green and white are positive and negative features which alone can assign its early date. There is little here that can be said to anticipate the great outburst of elaborate polychrome tile mosaic which was to characterize Lahore architecture in the spacious days of the seventeenth century.

THE MOSQUE OF MARIAM ZAMANI

A 100 yards outside the East or Mast (Masjidi) Gate of Lahore fort stands the oldest dated mosque in the city founded as an inscription on the north entrance records by Mariam Zamani mother of the emperor Jahangir in A.D. 1614. Architecturally it is of severe and early design, the five arches of the prayer chamber have simple four-centred, leaves the central arch under the main *mihrab* (niche) is a four-centred and has a half of the ornamentation of the other arches. The minaret has four tiers and at each corner of its facade are square towers carrying small cupolas on octagonal drums, whose two equivalent thrusts will appear rise from the roof at the back corner. Internally the central dome has interlaced ribbing or tracery and the four-sided squinches which the dome rests have alternating pendentives. The building was built of red masonry but the paintings with white, the walls of the interior are covered. These paintings are however unimpaired in Pakistan and perhaps in India for their tell-tale and varied variety and for their harmonious gold-tone which is the only report to age. The panels are in flowerwork, cypress, palms and other trees, and a miscellany of flowers—some partly framed in elaborate geometrical patterns. Compared with the relatively coarse and in its great and work on Lahore in the last of the second quarter of the century these are of outstanding beauty and distinction. It would appear that the Lower use of mosaic

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work under Jahangir's successor Shah Jahan induced or at least connected with a keen interest in the quality of wall-painting (see above, p. 73) but at the date of the present mosque the rival technique had scarcely yet appeared at Lahore.

THE TOMB OF ANĀRKALI

Anarkali or 'Princely Blossom' was the nickname of an attractive girl who was brought up in Akbar's harem and was suspected by the emperor of carrying on an intrigue with prince Salim afterwards the emperor Jahangir. The story is variously told, but it would appear that the girl was barbarously executed in the year A.D. 1599. When Salim came to the throne he strove to make some amends for the tragedy by building a large tomb over her grave. This tomb stands in the grounds of the Punjab Secretariat to the south of the old city and has passed through vicissitudes which have concealed its original decoration. It is hexagonal in plan with a corner octagonal tower at each corner, and is crowned by a central dome on a tall cylindrical drum. After 1861 it was used as a Christian church and for this purpose the arched openings in the eight sides were widely or partially widened in a gallery (now removed) was constructed in the interior with an external staircase, and the whole structure was whitewashed internally and externally. The large octagonal marble gravestone has already been moved out of the building in the Sikh period, when the tomb was turned into a residence amongst the occupants being General Ventura, the famous Italian officer of the Sikh Government. The stone was subsequently repaired by the British with a new tomb but in none of the side bays, not in its original central position. It has been stated that the actual grave was also moved to the present site of the gravestone but digging in 1940 in the middle of the building revealed the former situation at five feet below the present floor in its proper place. From accounts of the discovery the grave would appear to be of plastered brickwork. The building is now used as the Punjab Record Office.

The gravestone bears well-cut inscriptions which include the date of the death of Anarkali with the words 'In Lahore' and the date of the construction of the tomb (A.D. 1603). It also bears the ninety-nine attributes of God and a pregnant couplet obviously composed by Jahangir himself, which may be translated thus:

"Ah, could I behold the face of my beloved once more,
I would give thanks unto my God unto the day of resurrection."

Elsewhere on the marble are the words "The profoundly enamoured Salim, son of Akbar".

It is for these inscriptions and for the vast size of the building which reinforces their sincerity that the tomb is noteworthy, rather than for any special architectural quality.

THE TOMB OF JAHANGIR

The emperor Jahangir died in camp on a return journey from Kashmir in 1627 and was buried at Samanvira 3 miles north-west of Lahore. Tughlaq (see above, XII) stands beside a former tank of the Ravi in the midst of a large garden, 500 feet square enclosed by a brick wall with a monumental gateway in the middle of the west side. Brick paved causeways divide the garden into 16 square plots which bear an ornamental tank and fountain at each intersection and in its prime this 'paradise' must have provided a beautiful and fragrant resting place. It is recorded to have been originally the garden of Jahangir's celebrated queen, Nūr Jahān, and the emperor was buried there at his own request.

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The tomb including itself is also square with sides of 42 feet and consists of an ornate square with a square corner tower and a projecting entrance bay in the midst of the sides. The external walls including the lowest stage of the tower are faced with Mathura sandstone the rest of the tower is in white marble with a rich pane of decoration in white and black marble. The piers are white marble and partly of the Persian type and partly with a projecting cornice in a style of the Persians. The cornices are of five stages of which the two intermediate stages are decorated with horizontal zigzag relief after a plan of white marble and a decorative black marble frieze. The two stages at the base and the top have 'pavilions' of which are separated by bracketed alcoves. The group of these towers is graceful and effective. Their prototypes in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent are first represented in the west and the Deccan where the culture in existence is the famous Barabar of 11 feet and (A.D. 150). But it is as at Chapra and elsewhere the pavilion of the distinctive

Hindu type is lacking and it is rather in the use of low octagonal corner towers similar to the Hindu 'pavilions' at Akbar's tomb near Agra A.D. 1565 that the distinctive feature of the North Indian series is to be recognized. Compared to the corner towers, relatively taller than those of Akbar's tomb were also noticed the corner towers of the tomb of Ibrat ul Daula at Agra in 1565 contemporaneously with their still better at Ibrat in the design of Jahangir's tomb. A few years later in Wazir Khan's mosque at Lahore (1621) similar tower corner towers stood detached and exemplified at 80 feet at the highest time four seated minarets were being incorporated in the design of the Taj Mahal. Later even in the four independent octagonal towers defined the courtyard of the great Badshahi mosque at Lahore. In all these the crowning element of the Hindu pavilion and the group may be regarded as essentially a part of the Moghul Indo-Iranian complex.

On the roof of the main platform of Jahangir's tomb is a central podium which probably, again on a general analogy with Akbar's tomb, carried a marble pavilion. There is evidence of a lower char-de-ruiing round the outer edge of the podium but the present marble flooring is a relatively modern pavement which conceals the exact plan of the superstructure. Like so it is also the latter was removed by the Sikhs at the end of the eighteenth or beginning of the nineteenth century.

Within the main platform are ranges of colonnaded compartments with ornamented piers. In the eastern side of the tomb is a small square grave of the XIIth century built with perforated brick decoration and the piers are attributes of the

Although marred by the loss of its culminating feature, the tomb building as a whole is a magnificent structure its severe lines counterbalancing the exuberance of the plan, decoration upon which its interest and attraction mainly depend.

The gateway to the garden is of red sandstone, mostly faced with white marble and other stones and the half dome between the main water arch and the passageway has honeycombed pendentives. The main angles of the structure are emphasized by pinnacles or *guldastas*.

Adjoining the tomb-garden on the west is a contemporary with it is the so-called *darwaza* with a three-arched mosque of sandstone, marble and plaster in the western side and similarly decorated gateways in the northern and southern sides.

THE MOSQUE AND BARĀDARĪ OF WAZIR KHAN

Building of distinction and distinction not merely in Lahore but in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent is the mosque built in the eighteenth century by a Panjab in master of the Sikhians bearing the title of Wazir Khan. The Wazir was already in the superior's ser-

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was before he came to the throne and was at various times Shah-jahan's favourite, his physician, and his favourite friend. The mosque was built in the style of a Persian saint and in spite of distinctively Indo-Muslim elements is itself predominantly Persian in character.

Reference has already been made (above p. 74) to some of its features. Its four great octagonal towers, the two *Hauz pavilions* at the interangles of the main gateway, and the brackets on which flank the outer entrance, may be included amongst its Indian or Muslim traits. For the rest it is a sort of mosaic, the chief purely Persian type set in a framework of Indian and Sindh. The façade of the tomb-chamber, with its high square front, central dome and the two leaning arches on each side of it, are a superb example of Persian *Barok* decoration in which white and black predominate. Here where on the towers and gateway are black and arabesque green dominating the white are equally typical and the variety of the patterns in detail including a range of cypress trees round an upper stage of the tower offers manifold discovery to the eye. Here if anywhere may we speak of *gemmed architecture*.

The four domes of the prayer-hall, both of prayer-chamber and of gate-halls interlaced ribbing and are plastered with floral patterns, so also is the interior of the prayer-chamber. The central compartment of the latter has a honeycomb ceiling and squinches. The main gate is unusual in Pakistan. It is a sort of *darwaza* incorporating a large domed rectangular space which forms part of a *maqsad* that in construction is as ancient in origin as the mosque. The interior of the dome is ornamented with zigzag line-work emphasized by paint.

The whole building stands upon a platform approached by steps, at the foot of which a busy open-air bazaar comes only a few feet lower than to a scene of great beauty.

The building known as Wazir Khan's Baradari stands behind the Central Museum, Lahore, within the site of the Wazir's garden. On many sides, the *Nahla* from the *Intipalis* which it contains. The structure is square and symmetrical with a central vaulted hall surrounded by galleries. Externally the façades are slightly convex in elevation (clearly influenced by the convex Bengali roof) 82 ft. high and square two storeys high.

Hauz pavilions at each corner. Three openings with arched arches over the centre of the upper stage on each face and four arched or cusped openings and niches complete the elevation. The building has long been used as the Punjab Public Library and is completely plastered, but there is evidence that it was originally painted. Its proportions are good, otherwise in its present condition it is of little interest. It presumably dates from about A.D. 1635.

THE MOSQUE OF DAI ANGA

The mosque (pl. XIIIb) which is known by the name of Dai Anga, the set name of the emperor Shah-jahan, has emerged, remarkably intact from a succession of vicissitudes, first as a Sikh power-house, then as a European residence and later again as a railway office. It stands close to the Lahore railway station. Its site is given by Latif and Iqbal (A.D. 1935) but the landmarks in the plan, which includes the mosque on the left side of the left hand (southernmost) arch, are damaged and the reading may not be exact. It cannot, however, be very far from the mark.

The design is simple and satisfactory of the normal Iranian three-arched type, with highly cusped high arches above four arched openings. At the sides are two square minarets with conical platforms which, as currently were intended to carry.

Hauz pavilions. The three compartments of the prayer-chamber are crowned by double domes now cemented externally with cavetto mouldings at the junction with the drum. This feature if, as seems probable it is original, is unusual but may be compared with the cavettos on the *Moti Masjid* in Lahore fort (p. 82).

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[illegible]

THE SHALIMAR GARDEN

The great garden which has been known at least since the eighteenth century by the Sanskrit name *Shatamaru* (House of Base) lies east-north-east of Luoyang on the left of the Grand Trunk Road. The name of its composition is contained in a Chinese poem which is recorded to have been presented to the emperor Shih-tsun by a court poet and may be translated as follows:

"When Shay was the King Defender of the Faith,
Laid out the Shalmar in becoming style,
I asked the wife of the foundation from the workkeeper of Paradise,
He answered, saying 'This is the example of the highest Paradise'."

The words of this somewhat misleading label imply contain the equivalents of .041 A. U. or A. D. 1637.

The garden was laid out primarily as a place of recreation for the royal family. Today it is a show place for the former self. Turin water all that is available with out great cost flows through the fountains and its fountains have ceased to play most of the year. It has been removed from its pavilions and a cold whitewash substituted. But it is still the regular resort of many thousands and in fair days it is alive with great numbers of people.

It was the chief work of Li Mu-chang, a celebrated hydraulic engineer (p. 94) of the Ming Dynasty. It is an oval one, 650 feet by 720 feet and descends from south to north in three stages each some 10 feet below the preceding. The two terminal stages constitute square gardens and divided by water-channels into 16 smaller squares, with small tanks at the intersections of the ditches. The middle stage, only 200 feet wide, contains the main tank, into which water flowed down a long curved marble chute from the garden above. The level in the tank was regulated by an outflow in the form of a waterfall 10 feet behind a ramp placed in decorative 'pigeon holes' in the marble balustrade of the receiving cistern in the third garden beneath. The tanks and principal ditches contained fountains and in the centre of the great tank was a marble platform or pavilion, where a smaller marble platform with decorative rail around the emperor himself on the southern fringe of the water. A large pavilion with eaved eaves overlooked the scene and it is here that Zhi-ai-Nsun, Wang-shih's talented watchman is said to have written verses which may be translated as follows:

'O water-fall! for whose sake art thou weeping?
In whose sorrowful meekness—a hast thou wrinkle, thy brow?
What pain was it that impel'd thee take thyself, the warm night
To strike thy head against stone and, to shed tears?'—

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Four smaller pavilions formerly of red Matarra sandstone and marble stood beside the lake. All these buildings were largely composed of brick stonework and marble decoration by the Sikhs in the latter part of the eighteenth century and the present plastered and whitewashed structures date mainly from that period.

Nevertheless even in more modern times the gardens have on occasion attracted something of near ancient glory through the water-system whereby Ali Murad Khan supplied the fountains and fountains from a source over 100 miles away at Multan. It has now given place to the vagaries of a local pump. It is permissible to quote Latif's description of a fête-day, written in 1892.

"The grounds are artistically laid out with walks, flower beds and promenades; the fountains play; the bridges are tastefully formed into graceful arches over the water. The illuminations have a most marvellous effect on the luxuriant foliage of the mango and orange trees, and their bright reflections in the water create a new scene. Like so many transparent mirrors, constitute a magic scene. The *chhatris* glistening with coloured lamps seems like a fairy palace; the trees, the lakes, the paths, the roofs of the *barde* (sic) structures, all shimmering with variegated lights. The fireworks, infused in most singular lights about the garden in an ocean of flame."

The garden is surrounded by a high brick wall with polygonal corner-towers surmounted by 'Haram' pavilions of red Matarra sandstone, and there is a smaller pavilion towards the middle of each side. There is a *hammam* or bath-house near the centre of the western wall and sun-mesh-shades are placed here and there about the circuit. The present entrance from the Grand Trunk Road is a relatively modern cutting through one of these summer-houses. The original entrances were two in number, in the east and west walls of the northernmost (lowest) stage, and are of distinction as examples of mosaic tilework in a style comparable with that of the nearly contemporary mosque of Wazir Khan (p. 85). The gates form semi-hexagonal projections and are of brick with red sandstone dressings. The tiled panels with which most of the structures are covered, are set in a grid of raised brickwork plastered and painted with imitation bricks. The designs are of the usual floral kinds, and the colour-scheme, including blue, white, green, yellow and brown, is characteristic of Lahore tilework of the period.

Gardens such as this, sometimes bearing the same name are of a familiar Persian pattern. They were introduced into Pakistan and India by the Moghuls, the earliest of any consequence being that which surrounds Humayun's tomb at Delhi, A.D. 1569. Others occur at Delhi, Agra, near Srinagar (Kashmir), at Patna near Kanpur (East Punjab) and at Wazir, West Punjab. In its prime, the Lahore Shalimar must have been one of the finest of them all, although it lacks the mountain background which gives grandeur to the Kashmir setting.

THE TOMB OF ASAUF KHAN

Asaf Khan, the brother of Nur Jahan and father of Shahjahan's queen, Arjumand Bano Begum, for whose burial the Taj Mahal was built, was Wazir of the emperor and a man of fabulous wealth. He died in 1641, and a costly tomb was built for him by his emperor to the west of the tomb of Jahangir. Like other Mughal buildings of Lahore, the structure has been practically plundered of its decoration, but just enough remains to indicate some part of its former magnificence.

The tomb is octagonal and is surrounded by a bulbous pear-shaped double course of masonry which was originally covered with white marble. On each side of the octagon is a

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high arch with tracery half come above an entrance and the inter spaces between arches and entrance remain traces of elaborate work and painted to work with it of its kind is unsurpassed in Pakistan. In the roof domes the mosaic tile work is painted in conformity with the lines of the intersecting tracery and the panels are a distinctive colour scheme of yellow, blue or dark brown, that are very attractive. The patterns are predominantly floral and curvilinear strength with a grace and gaiety and care not regarded as appropriate to the funeral setting. In the wall panels are rectangular figures painted like a face, the face of a face, and at a time when the face was the dominant feature. The gravestone has at a corner decorated with a thin network in plaster relief of a face formerly adorned with simple *patta dura* lines of the type characteristic of Shahjahān.

The lower part of the tomb is the base of a square garden with water, and an entrance on the south and central structures with some relics of a fine tilework on the other sides.

THE TOMB OF NŪR JAHĀN

The tomb of Jahangir's famous empress Nūr Jahān or Light of the World lies near that of her mother, the west of Jahangir's tomb. Her romantic story and wayward birth of refugee parents, a marriage to Akbar's court but really her father Jahangir as a prince, her marriage to a young Turkoman of the court, a violent death and her subsequent martyrdom. Jahangir the emperor, her name a designation of a court and of the world, the fact of her name the coinage issued jointly in her name and the coin by Jahangir, where the value of gold was increased in a hundredfold, and a description has that these things are matters of common history. She died in 1612 and is said to have built her own tomb.

The tomb is a brick wreck a brickwork shell. In plan it bears some resemblance on a small scale to that of Jahangir. It is square on plan with octagonal towers round high at the corners and a projecting entrance bay in the centre of each side. Within are three ranges of cells or joined compartments with traces of an arched plaster carries an open or filled wall panels. The central vaulted tomb chamber contains a marble platform designed for two graves. Those of Nūr Jahān herself and of Laili Begum, her daughter by her Turkoman husband. Of the present simple unadorned marble gravestones one is ancient and the other a modern copy. On the roof was a domed porch with many originally have carried a pavilion although a new one has a new visitor. Beneath the tomb approached accessed from the south by a sloping passage is the actual burial vault where the two coffins hung suspended until the violation of the place by the Sikhs. These violators who in the late sixteenth and early nineteenth century wrecked the Muslim monuments of Lahore with the same thoroughness with which the Muslims had themselves wrecked the monuments of Hinduism several centuries earlier, may be ascribed the removal of the marble and stone structure of which traces can be seen on the exterior of the building. With the removal of its surface decoration, the whole glory of the structure has departed.

THE CHAUBURJI

Amongst the many fine buildings of Lahore the gateway known as the Chauburji on the west side of the Mullan road some two miles south of the fort occupies an average place. It derives its name from the four octagonal towers which stand at its corners. A tile inscription above the arch proclaims that

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The garden and the pattern of the garden of Puriyasa
has been founded [missing line] . . .
The garden has been bestowed on Miân Bān
By the bounty of Zeb-un-Nisā Begum the daughter of the Emperor

And that is how it is incorporated as a part of the city in A.D. 1646

The origin of Zeb-un-Nisā is uncertain. She is a princess supposed to have been Zeb-un-Nisā Begum, daughter of the emperor Aurangzeb, and so she was a young girl at the time of the construction of the gate. The story goes that the emperor was hunting in the suburbs and of the princess's favourite female attendant, Miân Bān, that it was his own known as 'Miân Bān's Garden' and was at that time and given to Miân Bān by her royal mistress. But that as it may, the garden has long disappeared and the legend is as good as any other.

The corner-towers of which one has fallen with the north-west quarter of the main structure are generally similar to those of Wazir Khan mosque but they are not quite as extensive, deeper for their height. They consist of a pavilion platform with a platform carried "Hudu" pavilions whereof no trace remains. The whole building is covered externally with a beautiful pattern of tile in a floral type in a wide range of colours among which blue predominates. With all this special distinction it nevertheless includes the surviving record of Lahore *kashī* work.

NAWÂN KŌT

Like-wise associated with the name of Zeb-un-Nisā Begum is a tiled gateway and two corners of the enclosure wall of a vanished garden in the village of Nawān Kōt on the east side of the Mitran road a mile south of the Chattray. The gateway is a four square structure with a "Hudu" pavilion on each angle and with one square side pavilion with a small tiled floral pattern in which every yellow and orange predominates. The back is painted. A noteworthy feature of the pavilions is that they have tiled domes covered with green tiles and that like those of Puriyasa station, they are supported by four pillars in each angle. The upper stage on each side of the passageway has terracotta panels of screens with network and zigzag patterns. The gateway is not old but may be ascribed to the middle or third quarter of the seventeenth century.

The surviving (north-east and south-east) corners of the enclosure have two original towers crowned by pavilions painted below the eaves and tiled above them with gold fluted domes.

Behind the gateway is the stripped core of a brick tomb of which the domes are painted externally. A part of the original mosaic marble floor remains, but the graveyard has gone and its extent is unknown. Like the garden it is peculiarly attributed to Zeb-un-Nisā Begum.

The village retains considerable traces of its defensive brick walls and round-fronted towers, built in A.D. 1630.

THE GULĀBĪ BĀGH GATEWAY

On the left side of the Grand Truck Road between Lahore and the Shalimar Garden stands the gateway of the now vanished Gulābī Bāgh or Rose Garden. It was built in A.D. 1655 by a Persian nobleman Mirza Sultan Beg, a friend of the Emperor, a cousin of the business of Sultan Begum, daughter of Shahjahan. He was fond of sport and was killed on a shooting expedition through the bursting of an English firearm given to him by the emperor.

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[illegible]

The name *trubi* might be a play on the name of the village. When not in the market, it is one which may be translated as "red".

What a pleasant surprise a gateway so beautiful that the people are free from the black spot (i.e. the spot of envy).

The H -wave of the π and ρ meson fits is a good fit as well as

Ghazi asked of wisdom the chronogram of the garden

The gate given was valued by Hugh Rose Gardner.

THE TOMB OF 'ALĪ MARDĀN KHĀN

Alt Mar-ji Khan formerly one of the *Chamars* of the court of Shah Tahmasp of Persia, surrendered Kharakut to Shahjahan in 1627 and joined the Mughal court at Lahore, where he was made a *darogha* of the first class. Later he became *darogha* of the Punjab but he is best remembered for his up-to-date works of which the *Asafiy-i-Fawaid* is the Lahore *Shah-Jahan-Nama* (p. 85) and the *Farah-i-Ashraf* is found at Delhi are outstanding. He died in 1657 and was buried in the *Bara* or *Chandoli* at Lahore.

The table and graves to the right of the Chank Trunk Road on the way from the pit to the Squamish garden are seen from space a row of 14, 5 in height. They of brick, and on the top part of wall were traces of a former veneer of red and white stone inlay with white and black marble and with a central band of black stone. It is composed of a plain wall with a gable roof, a narrow arch, and an entrance in each side. A tall chimney, drawn chimney, and a small buttressed chimney, a few feet high, are the signs of the chimney in spite of the support given by a triangular, plastered and painted paved-in place, and a few angles of the main structure. The ground was formerly covered with gray stone, bearing a local pattern in white marble inlay and the main was white-plaster, red, and painted, but of these features only slight traces remain. The section was formerly covered with stone and a table paneling and a fragment of a cornice, a row of white marble with a zigzag black inlay has survived the ravages of the soil period. The half-buried grave for and interlaid tracery of plaster with painted floral patterns. The inner surface of the grave over the tomb-chamber was decorated with floral network in plaster and similar to that of Agassiz's tomb, p. 84. The central corner of the burial in space p. 93. The two graves have been removed. In each, their site is the only one, and a row from the south, in which the actual burials took place.

Thus, it is surely far too, to go on talking when there has been so much of the I of the moment in its proportions cannot be described as happy or amount of feature could describe the fact that it is at the same time overgrown an unbroken

The tomb is not an enclosure of walls, but only the narrow gap remains. Unlike the tomb the gate remains intact. It is constructed of mud brick not of stone and quality is a fine example of Islamic work of the mid-seventeenth century. The predominant tone is yellow, but light and dark grey, white, green, dark ochre and brown

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contribute to form a rich mosaic of elements in the form of floral panels and foliate tendrils. The character of the work is similar to that on the gateways of the Badshahi Garden and the Ghalib Bagh and, incidentally, as on these gates the panels are framed in raised bands of imitation brickwork painted on the plastered surface of the structural bricks. The tilework is supplemented by painting in the triangular half-dome of the main arch and elsewhere. The architectural design is generally similar to that of the gate of the Ghalib Bagh and as a whole the building has its full importance derived from the destruction of so much that might have rivalled it.

THE TOMB OF DĀI ANGA

Behind the gateway of the Ghalib Bagh on the site of the former garden stands the tomb of Dāi Anga, Shāh Jahan's wet-nurse and of his daughter Sultān Begum. The tomb is of brick and stands upon a platform covering the actual burial vault. It is square in plan, with a flattened central dome and a pavilion at each corner. The dome was originally a white and dark blue zigzag pattern, and the tall cylindrical drum is decorated with floral patterns in black. The walls are white with green and yellow predominating. The floors of the pavilions were once tiled, but for the rest they are plastered and painted. The crossing of the main hallway is intersected with a tiled string-course above which two walls are punched into panels (a prominent aspect being within a richly carved framework) and plastered and were formerly painted. The interior of the dome is plastered, with painted interlaced ribbing or tracery, and is carried on honeycombed squinches. The gravestones have disappeared. An inscription in the tomb-chamber gives a date equivalent to A.D. 1674.

THE BĀDŠĀHĪ MOSQUE

The great Bādshāhī or Imperial mosque to the west of Lahore fort was built in A.D. 1673-74 under the supervision of Aurangzeb's foster brother and Master of Hindustani Fida Ali Khan Koka and is the most important building of Aurangzeb's reign (pl. XVI). The rigid orthodoxy of this emperor combined with a certain secular exhaustion to deprive the latter part of the seventeenth century of any great distinction in the realm of architecture. More than one critic of that period has observed a lack of vitality of the eager invention which characterised the work of Akbar or the studied refinement of the age of Shāh Jahan. It must be confessed that there is about the Bādshāhī mosque an air of academic complacency and fulfilment that robs it of the interest of some earlier and indeed less perfect designs. But with all this sense of aridity the satisfying proportions of the prayer-chamber and the magnificence of the towering swelling dome cannot be denied. If scarcely a work of genius it is at least a monument of dignity and propriety.

The mosque and its courtyard (530 feet square) are raised upon a platform which is approached from the east by a handsome flight of steps and an upstanding gateway of traditional Moghul type. This gateway, of red Mathura stone, has at each of its four corners a small square minaret with a flat petal at the base and a row of tiny pavilions, of the kind beloved by Shāh Jahan, breaks the otherwise rigid skyline. Painted floral panels, mostly of eighteenth and nineteenth century date, variegate the archway, the external niches and the walls and roof of the passageway. As a whole, the structure is, however, a second-rate work in a familiar convention.

At the four corners of the courtyard are the tall octagonal towers to which reference has already been made (p. 85) and four smaller minarets also octagonal, are attached to the corners of the prayer-chamber. The latter has the usual high central arch, somewhat weakly cusped and with a very floral inlay in the spandrels, flanked on each side by five

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smaller arches and others as a strengthening element in the design, rise three grand, bulbous minarets, with a solid basal construction and, nevertheless, full alert of the elegant and grotesque forms of the following century. The minarets are flat, bulbous and are cracked out externally with an intricate series of patterns in white marble slabs. Within the main dome of the prayer-chamber is ornamented by a floral network in plaster-relief and the walls and roof generally are painted, though a little of the actual colouring is as old as the structure.

The mosque was badly damaged by an earthquake in 1840, and the tops of the towers paving and other details are modern.

Between the courtyard and the fort is the contemporary Razvi Bagh or walled garden which links the mosque with the fort through a four-arched gate passage and contains the remnant of a marble two-storey pavilion built by Razvi Singh, about 1818 with materials taken from Moghul structures. The upper storey of the pavilion was thrown down by an earthquake in 1932 and in spite of its improvised and fragmentary character the building is not without grace and charm.

KÔS MINARS

From the time of Akbar onwards the arteries, roads of India were a constant care of the major administrations. The *Sarai-i-Furuk* or Grand Trunk Road, perhaps the most famous highway in the world, unless we include the trans-Asiatic silk routes, at the outset received a proportionate share of attention. It connected the Gangetic plain, the region of the great cities, with the north-west frontier and was the backbone of the Mughal, Gupta and Meghasthenian empires. It was a main channel of international and inter-regional traffic. A part of it was repeatedly traversed by the Grand Moghul and his court on their periodical progresses to Kashmir.

In 1619 the emperor Jahangir ordered a small minaret-like monument to be built at every *kôś* along this road from Agra to Lahore. The *kôś* was an ancient Indian measure of distance, which varied from time to time: it was derived from *krosa* meaning a 'cry' and was probably a synonym of the *goruta* (the 'creek of a cow') used as an indication of distance as early as the *Kautilya Arthashastra* (c. 300 B.C.). It was probably known also to Hsueh Tsang in the seventh century A.D. In Jahangir's day the conventional *kôś* as measured between surviving *kôś minars* varied from 2 miles 3 furlongs to 2 miles 5 furlongs. Upwards of 60 of these *minars* are known to exist, but it is not necessary to suppose that all were set except a date from Jahangir. For example a series of them along the road from Agra to Fatehpur Sikri is more likely than not to have been erected during the short effective life of the latter city between A.D. 1570 and 1582.

Of four *kôś minars* which remain in the environs of Lahore the typical example at Shah-i-Ki-Garhi near the railway and just outside Lahore station is here illustrated (pl. XIV B). It is of brick, about 27 feet high, with an octagonal base and cone-shaped superstructure. Like the remainder of the series it is uninscribed.

SERAI AT ATTOK

The grand Trunk Road, like most trans-Indians in Asia, was marked by the presence of *serais* or enclosures in which travellers might rest and shelter at the end of the day's march, sometimes at 12-mile intervals. These *serais* were of mud brick, baked brick or stone and consisted of a court surrounded by cells and verandahs and often reached by corner towers

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Remnants of a number of them have survived in West Pakistan. A typical example, partly of brick and partly of stone, is the so-called Begum's Mosque on the left bank of the Indus at the Attock crossing. Its court is 131 feet square, and contains a small, three-arched mosque with low domes. Round the sides of the court are the usual compartments, and projecting stone towers project from the four corners. The date of the building is unknown but may well be that of the renowned improvements of the amenities of the Grand Trunk Road by Jahāngīr in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

BĀOLIS

In addition to the provision of *kōs minā's* or distance marks and *serais* or caravanserais the Moghuls improved the water supply along the line of these arterial roads. The ideal arrangement rarely achieved was to have a roadside well every three miles and in some cases the structure was an elaborate *bāoli* with flights of steps and occasionally corbel and pier and eablers at which the traveller could refresh himself. The *bāoli* near Losar on the Grand Trunk Road about 5 miles north-west of Taxila is a good example of the series. It is of brick about 140 feet deep, and is approached by a staircase with landings at intervals under four-centred arches carrying battlemented crestings. It is entered through an arched and domed gateway flanked by small chambers with staircases to the roof, and beyond the entrance at ground level, on each side is an oblong brick platform upon which travellers could rest. On one side also is a trough for watering animals. The structure is probably of early seventeenth-century date.

As another example may be cited a *bāoli* within the ruins of the fort built by Ashar at Gujrat (West Punjab) in A.D. 1580. It has a simple brick staircase descending to a large well under four-centred arches with platforms or landings at intervals, and is doubtless contemporary with the fort.

ATTOCK FORT

Lastly, at suitable strategic points there were forts for the control of traffic and invasion. One of these at Rāhatas and another at Gujrat have already been mentioned. Yet another, still in occasional military use, guards the important crossing of the Indus at Attock.

In the month of Rabi-ul-Bihar (the year 980 A.H. A.D. 1581) the emperor ordered to be built on the banks of the Indus a fortress which he called Atak-Banaras to distinguish it from Katas-Banaras (see above). So writes Bada'uni. At the same time Ashar established a ferry here and imported a colony of boatmen from Hindustan, the descendants of whom still live at Madulitola and enjoy the revenue of a village in Channah which was granted by the emperor for their support. His primary motive in building the fortress was to use it as a base against his brother Mirza Mohammas Hakim, Governor of Kabul, who had invaded the Punjab, but it remained in service as one of the principal forts whereby the Moghul empire was held together in its prime. Akbar again went to Attock early in A.D. 1585 and spent the greater part of the year there, and he returned thither in 1588. At Attock he minted a coin for copper coins, and dams struck there from his thirty-seventh to his forty-third year (A.D. 1591-97) and a specimen of his forty-eighth year are known. After Ashar Attock is represented in the Moghul coin series only by a solitary piece, a rupee of Mahamud Shāh (A.D. 1715) but it subsequently became a mint town of the Durrani dynasty. In 1812 Ranjit Singh seized the fort from the Wazir of Kabul and it remained in possession of the Sikhs until its occupation by the

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British sources. The first Moghul Bahadur never reached the high as frequently speaks of Delhi, a few miles lower on the Indus and it was at Sumras, a few miles from the modern Attock, that the place became the main river crossing.

The fort stands upon a plain on the left bank of the Indus by the side of the Grand Trunk Road (Karakoram Road). It was completed in two years under the supervision of Shahjahan, the grandson of the Emperor of the Panjab, and the inscription on a slab of stone now set above the inner north gateway dated 1040 A.H. (1630 A.D.) gives the date of its completion.

Unlike the pleasure fortresses of Bahawalpur and Lahore the Attock fort appears to have been a purely military post designed to hold the river crossing and guard the bridge of boats which from ancient times until 1880, when the modern steel bridge was opened, had been the site of the fort.

The fortifications are everywhere in circular form and are strengthened with a wall of regular masonry, all circular except one which is rectangular. They are built mostly of a local soft rock set in thick lime mortar but for an outer vaulting course an external string course and *makhr* brick is used, and for the original gateways a sandstone resembling that found at Taxila in the Jhelum district.

An interesting feature of the fortification is a narrow gallery continued all up in the walls to give access to the head and back cover. The greater part of the gallery has a wooden roof but in one stretch of brick roofing has replaced the brick vaulting. The buttresses, battlements and machicolations bear evidence of changes to meet new needs arising from changing armament.

Many of the walls are now in ruins, the north wall overlooking an extensive stretch of the river is but a fragment though a four-arched doorway in the front of the tower and scullery is a part remaining. This is the only building in the fort which is designed for residential purposes and with alterations is still used as such.

None of the original gateways is now in use, but three are traceable respectively near the northern, eastern, southern and western gates. A further western gateway known as the Malakhat Gate has been opened in the west wall and another known as the Dera Gate pierces the long narrow wall of the British period running north to south from the Lahori Gate and dividing the fort into an upper and a lower area.

The present main entrance, the Main Gate facing the Grand Trunk Road, in the north-east probably comes from the Sikh period, but its masonry and ramp are British.

The Kalak Gate on the west is the only entrance now open to view. It is double and consists of round towers, the outer gate is in line with the fortification wall and is backed by a square courtyard, when the inner gate opens into the courtyard. The gates are of sandstone with four-centred openings under musketry slits. The inner gate also has three windows with balconies and is paneled.

In the centre of the north wall is a rectangular projection known as the Magazine. Originally this must have been the principal entrance to the fort and the modern magazine occupies the courtyard between the inner and outer gateways. The latter is no longer traceable. The top of the inner gateway is still visible and a sun-dial, fixed in an inscription of the year 960 A.H. In general design it resembles the Kalak Gate but has on either side a square and window with a large and decorated cresting.

There are no buildings in the interior except some magazines and chambers in the upper part near the modern Dera Gate. At present these are magazines and traces of water channels and reservoirs have been observed in one of them and they appear to have been cool chambers for use in summer. In the lower fort area the small road from the Cold Battery to the modern Lahori Gate at many places cuts through old walls and ruined vaulted chambers built in small bricks.

PART II. EAST PAKISTAN

17. PRE-MUSLIM

EAST Pakistan (East Bengal and the western fringe of Assam), fall geographically into three main divisions: the Chittagong and area in the east, the Barisal plateau in the north, and the great alluvial plain separated with the north by streams of the Brahmaputra, Ganges (Padma) etc. in the south. Barisal represents the Sanskrit *Varanasi* which was a sub-division of Pundravahana (Vakri) a composite name embracing almost the whole of North Bengal. The native people were the name of Bang, who were the main people of Bengal.

Barisal or more correct, Banga is really the name of a people who inhabit this region from a remote past. They were racially and culturally different from the proud Aryans, who refer to them with disdain in their religious literature beginning with the *Mahabharata* (c. seventh century B.C.). But by the time of fourth century B.C., of the Harivamsa, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata they had entered some political relations with the high-born aristocrats of Aryans in the India. There is no doubt that they were an enterprising people who had taken to foreign trade and possibly the market-town on the bank of a river, both bearing the name 'Ganges' mentioned in the Greek *Periplus of the Euxine Sea* (A.D. 60-100) was the focus of their efforts. According to the *Periplus*, "through this place are brought abundant quantities of Ganges' pearls and a variety of the finest sorts which are called *Strophomena*". The name 'Ganges' is also mentioned by Ptolemy who describes it as a metropolitan city, situated 150 miles from their port town. This is the same as the *Taraka* in West Bengal which is a Buddhist work *Harivamsa* (Vakri) is mentioned in a list of maritime countries where ships congregated for purposes of trade. In a later Sanskrit inscription we have a reference to Vakri in connection with the Hindu missionaries of the masters and the rulers of the kings of Ceylon, while in an other the lower sub-division of Vakri is significantly called *Nava* which means 'navigable by boat-ramp' a fitting designation for the south-eastern part of the Ganges delta which is a labyrinth of rivers and creeks.

The name Pundravahana (Vakri) preserves the memory of the ancient inhabitants of the plain, namely the Pundras. Of these little is known, like the *dasas* of the Punjab, they were regarded with contempt by the Aryans and are described as a wild tribe in the Aryan *Astorsia Brahminia* which may be such as the earlier part of the first millennium B.C. The Pundraputra, Pundranagar is represented by the extensive ruins of Mahasthan in the Bogra District where approximately 1000 years has been found and the oldest datable relic of East Pakistan. The archaeological excavations were carried out in 1931 and have unearthed a Buddhist inscription (p. XV) Har. Both alphabet and language resemble those of Ashoka's pillars (c. third century B.C.), and may indicate that this part of Bengal lay within the Mauryan empire. The inscription mentions the earliest known Bengali name, the measures taken by the *mahamatra* of Pundranagar to meet it by the issue of gold coins from reserve stocks existing kept for the purpose. These stocks were to be replenished in better times but in king and in coin an interesting early reference to a coin, presumably of the punch marked type found frequently in Bengal as in other parts of India. Not merely as a curiosity, but

as a side light upon the economy of the period, the document is of outstanding historical interest.

At present we have no knowledge of the shape and appearance of Pundranagar in Mauryan or pre-Mauryan times. On a site than an excavation has been carried out at Mahasthang, but have nowhere reached the earlier levels. Nor does any other site in Bengal help us at present to build up an idea of the life 1000 years after Ashoka's archaism in record is largely a blank in East Pakistan. And the historical record for this long period is really a little less satisfactory. There are hints of the use of Vanga or Banga and the changes by trade from China and South India in the first century A.D. Coins and terra-cotta figurines from Magadha have been brought to light. Some characteristics are lacking of the first and second century B.C. These scraps of evidence for the very far past are more substantial is the fact recorded in an inscription dated in the fourth century A.D. to the Ashoka-purana in what is now Bihar, that at the time of the Gupta emperors in East Bengal were in some sort of relationship with the great Gupta dynasty which now controlled an empire plain from the old capital of the Mauryas. And shortly afterwards Eastern Bengal itself was absorbing into the Gupta empire.

Towards the close of the sixth century the Gupta empire in turn disintegrated, and was succeeded by a chaotic struggle for power amongst a succession of petty rulers. In the words of a contemporary inscription, there supervened 'the rule of the Takkas who swallowing the state of ours'. The same inscription, which says that this rule was brought to a close by the election of Gopala to the sovereignty of this region. This Gopala was destined to lay the foundations of the great Pala empire about the middle of the seventh century.

The Pala, whose homeland was *Larendra* (Barisal in North Bengal), washed together an integral Bengal kingdom which under the emperor Dharmapala (about A.D. 770-810), included the whole of Bengal and Bihar and vied for position supremacy over and India. This new authority extended also to foreign matters though here the Pala influence was reflected rather eastwards, in Burma and Java. Dharmapala ranks amongst the great kings, and seems incidentally to have met that question as much for his modesty as for his success. At least such is the tenor of a court-poem reserved for as on a copper plate: 'Hearing his praises sung by the cowherds on the borders, by the foresters in the forests, by the villagers on the outskirts, by the playing groups of the kings, never captured in every market by the guardians of the weights, and in pleasure houses as the patrons in the cages, he always bashful turns away and bows down his face'. In the eighth and tenth centuries, however, his virtues were forgotten and his empire progressively assailed. Much of Bihar was lost and south-eastern Bengal fell under the domination of another dynasty, that of the Chandelas, whose the eleventh century were supplanted by the Varmanas. After further vicissitudes the dwindled kingdom of the Palas passed to the foreign Hindu-Buddhist dynasty which ruled from western India and it was from that dynasty that within less than a century the realm was seized by the Muslim invaders (see p. 103).

Both the Palas and the Chandelas were Buddhists, and under them the masses of the countryside embraced a Buddhism of a complex polytheistic kind which was indeed more astonishing the Master himself. The adventurous Chinese pilgrim Hsueh Tsang who came here about A.D. 635 speaks of 20 Buddhist monasteries in Pandravardhana or North Bengal, and 30 more in Samatata or South-east Bengal. Architecturally the expression of this Buddhism was on no uncertain scale. It will suffice to mention the vast monastery of Panchratna to be described hereafter, that of Vikrampur in Dacca district which was probably the city

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place of the monk Atisa and Dipankara, a missionary to Tibet, the Jagu-tata *chakra* in Dinajpur district, which in the thirteenth century was spoken of as 'the peak of the monasteries' and the Paddita *chakra* in the Chittagong district where, beyond the reach of Muslim conquest, Buddhism lingered on after its extinction further west.

Meanwhile the Varmanas and Senas had made strenuous attempts to reassert the dominance of Brahmanism and the caste-rules of the Hindu *dharma*. One of the Senas is even said to have invited Brahmins from Kanauj to establish in Bengal a new and pure breed of that caste to replace the local Brahmanism which had itself become infected with Buddhism. The descendants of these newcomers are today known as *Kulin* (pure) Brahmins, and it is probably a tribute to their early prowess that the kings, as revealed by inscriptions, built temples as high as the mountain peak and excavated tanks as deep as the sea. It may be doubted, however, whether their efforts fundamentally altered the popular faith. That faith, indeed, whether Hinduist or Brahmanical, was at this time being secured increasingly by the so-called Tantricism, a mystery cult of a non-Aryan kind and used with deus and ritual related to fecundity and closely associated with the worship of village-goddesses. Some of these goddesses were incorporated, alike in Buddhism and Hinduism, but the underlying antagonism of the Hindus to the Buddhists may have taken eventually to prepossess the latter in favour of the other antagonist of the Hindus, namely Islam, and thus to pave the way for the newer faith.

PAHARPUR

Buddhism in East Bengal would appear to go back to Asoka, if we may believe the tradition handed down by Hsien Tsang that certain stupas there had been founded by that emperor. One of these was in the vicinity of Padditanagar and nearby was a magnificent Buddhist establishment with spacious halls, tall-storeyed chambers, and more than 500 monks. The immense scale of some of the Buddhist monasteries under the wealthy patronage of the Pala kings, however, is best represented by the Somapura *chakra* established by Dharmapala about A.D. 800, near an old axial road which connected Padditanagar with ancient Kirtipurin, a district headquarters now in the Indian portion of Dinajpur district. The monastery is known today from the adjacent village of Paharpur (Rajshahi district), and this in turn derives its name from the *paḥār* or hill to which time and long ago reduced the central shrine. Here, amidst the copses and tall sugar-canes and frequent fields of pite grain, and rocks which in their season variegate the otherwise unbroken level of the Bengal plain, are the excavated remains of the largest known monastery south of the Himalayas (nos. XVIIIa and XIX). For those to whom, for taste and figures are significant, it may be remarked that the monastery is no less than 920 feet square externally, with some 177 cells, each about 13 feet long, opening on to a great court through verandahs. But only by travelling laboriously to the remote Jamal-ganj railway station and walking thence three miles westward along village-tracks and field-paths to the site, and thereafter by climbing to the top of the brickwork pyramidal stupa 70 feet high, which represents the uncovered ruin of the shrine, and from that eminence surveying the marshalled outcrops of cells, the tiered subsidiary buildings, and the crowd of votive stupas—only so is it possible to visualize fully the ostentatious piety of this strange last phase of Indian Buddhism.

The monastery was entered through a monumental northern gateway, with pillared forehall which may be an addition to the plan, and this structure was balanced, in the middle of each of the other three sides by buildings which appear to have been subsidiary shrines

approach from water by steps. At night other lanterns the most notable are a long narrow lamp probably the refectory lamp the small eastern corner and an external lavatory approach by a raised gallery or bridge from the southern enclosure wall across an arched way in which the bridges are not bridge the way made of less vessels in fashion none of the rare but by no means negligible instances of radius contact from corbelled arch construction in pre-Islamic India (see above p. 18). In the outer wall of the lavatory a series of very worn chutes representing at least two periods of construction discharged waste onto a sloping brick paving, now re-burned, at the foot of the wall.

In the midst of the courtyard rises the great temple or stūpa, a structure of remarkable design and character (pls XVIII XIX). It is roughly pyramidal in elevation and cruciform in plan the outer shape defined by seven angles and the former by receding stages which combine to produce a great diversity of light and shade. The surviving stages are three in number with a circular colonnade passage following the outlines of the plan at the base of each the second passage being 11 feet above the low (at ground level) at 7 feet below the uppermost. The top of the lowest stage was approached by a grand staircase from the north. From the first to the second stage the approach went a less certain way it is possible that pairs of small staircases flanked a projecting central brick structure which extended each arm of the cruciform plan. These could have a entrance and were presumably filled and with earth, in accordance with a widespread architectural practice (p. 101) to carry a shrine at the second stage level, i.e. at the level of the third or uppermost enclosure. At the latter level the main arms of the cross contain large four-palmed shrines backed by eads which may originally have been purely constructional but if so, were later picked out for use. The third stage is the great square brick shaft which steps down, contains a brick floor and was presumably intended for a shrine, though none was found. The nature of the structure formerly carried by the tall uppermost stage is conjectural. The great stūpa or temple at Nālandā in Bihar was crowned by a small shrine but the absence of any possible provision for a final staircase at Patnāpur suggests rather a terminal stūpa as in the famous ninth or tenth century Ānāna temple at Pagan, Burma where as also in Java influence from East Bengal is recognizable. The Ānāna temple shares with Patnāpur the high terraced podium.

There is evidence that at some period the temple underwent extensive restoration. Many of the terracotta panels to which further reference will be made were reset sideways, the presumption being that they had fallen out and were replaced in accordance with their shape rather than their subject matter. Terracottas in the main arms of the cross at second stage level seem to have undergone alterations which on superficial evidence are difficult to harmonize with certainty. An decorated pedestals were inserted into many of the eads thus converting them into shrines presumably at a time when the number of eads was on the decline. These and other changes may with probability be ascribed to Maupān about A.D. 880-900 who momentarily repaired the Pānā fortunes after more than a century of decline and amongst other things is known to have restored buildings. It is fair to infer however from the fact that no trace of earlier panels already noticed that none of the Patnāpur sculptures to which we must now turn is later in date than the original construction of the building about A.D. 800.

The walls of both the lower Patnāpur stages are encrusted by sculptures panels which form the special feature of the building. The panels fall into two main series those of stone which are set at irregular intervals in the lowest stage just above the old ground level and those of terracotta of which there are two courses or friezes higher in the same wall and two in the equivalent wall retaining the second stage. Sixty three of the former panels and 1,000 of the

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latter remain *in situ* and many fragments of both categories were found near the debris. The stone reliefs are of varying character and quality and probably represent very fairly the general range of material produced in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. They include only one and a half Brahmi inscriptions. Both inscriptions which has suffered badly from later removal, but was originally, according to special estimation, was fronted by a small tank or *candi*. For the rest they represent a number of Brahmi local or even secular figures and groups with a special emphasis on the Krishna legend. They have been divided arbitrarily into three groups: a strict series of panels in a delicate hieratic style recalling the academic tradition of the Late Gupta period; a larger number of relatively crude and pictures in a heavy cut, lively style essentially akin to that of folk-art; and a series which may be described as a cross between the two. Whether these stylistic differences represent a variety of contemporary schools, or whether in part at least, they are due to the reuse of earlier sculptures alongside work contemporary with the building, is a moot point, but the latter alternative is the more probable. It seems likely that a nucleus of derived Late Gupta reliefs was re-used in the present structure and was liberally supplemented by local village artists who sought, possibly, to simulate the traditional hieratic manner.

The first of these groups of stone carvings exhibits a somewhat vapid elegance of the evayed Gupta canon style. Details of ornament are rendered with minute precision, and human forms have a conventional grace, with attenuated limbs and clinging lifeless drapery. Subjects include the trident, the rivers, which are said to be Krishna and Rupa (pl. XIXa), Yumana standing on the tortoise, and Bharatâna with snake-hand and plough. By itself this first group would give no special distinction to the monument, but the second group is of greater individuality.

This second group (pl. XIXb) is the stone counterpart of the very abundant terracotta plaques which will be considered presently. It consists of larger reliefs representing a variety of scenes and figures in an ancient but vigorous style which is often heavy and lacking in knowledge, but is nevertheless expressive of a naive, direct fashion. It displays no spiritual or intellectual quality: the features are roughly differentiated, limbs and gashes, and the drapery is indicated in summary simplicity. But it is, at the best, a vivid and convincing snapshot of the life of the village and of the gods and monsters which peopled the village mind. Its expressiveness is in proportion to its lack of academic learning or metaphysical content. To the naked eye, in particular, it is refreshing after the hot-house atmosphere of Gupta convention. Its subjects are often taken from the life of Krishna whose adventures were so dear to the Bengali heart. Others are borrowed from the tales which held town as firmly a high place in the affections of the countryside. And it includes dancers and other figures familiar to the social and religious life of the village.

The third group, as a compromise between the hieratic and the folk-art, is less satisfactory. The joyous boorishness of the latter seeps through and awakens, mixing with the stilted charm of the fine style and the vivacity of the other. Fortunately this group is in a small minority: not much more than a dozen examples in all.

But it is in the extensive series of terracotta plaques that the outstanding importance of the structure lies (pl. XVIIIa). These form the majority of the second of the three groups above considered. Their subject-matter includes the Brahma, Shiva, goddess, Brahma, Vishnu, Garuda, animal-fables, dancers, acrobats, warriors, householders, peasants, musicians, women and children, symbols, animals, birds, trees and other objects, sacred or profane, in bewildering profusion and confusion. They are set in the building without coherent sequence and the examina-

tion of the material and was a less interesting feature than the excitement of a voyage of discovery. The carved panels are large and of a high quality, the work is deep rooted in the folk art of the Bengal natives and shows a fine craftsmanship and a high valuation. Their features occur in the folk art of Manipal, Lachar, Chail, Majest, an Sagar in Dhaka district, as at the Doh Parbatya temple near Tazpur in Assam, indicating approximately fourteenth and fifteenth centuries A.D. and constituting an unusually attractive and suggestive school of popular art at a period in which Bangladesh is extremely richly endowed with Brahmanical and vernacular elements.

PATTIKERĀ

The discovery of the Mahamati Lā māi panels, first referred to, deserves more than passing mention. Upwards of 4 miles to the west and south-west of Comilla in the Tippera district, a low but prominent range of sandstone hills extends from north to south for a distance of some 10 miles and during the long monsoons, it is like an island against the swollen plain. The northern part of the range is named from the village of Mahamati, the southern is known as the Lā māi range from its spotted red colour and may be the Kūtagri or Rasi Hill which was the capital of the Chandra kings. The discovery of a copper plate inscription at Mahamati recording a grant of land to a Buddhist monastery built in the city of Pattikera in the year A.D. 1220 together with the retention of the name Pattikera or Patkera for an adjacent *purpina* indicated that the Pattikera town and state, referred to in certain Burmese chronicles relating to the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. were situated hereabouts.

The actual site was in fact found though not recognized as long ago as 1875 when as the *East Bengal District Gazetteers* record, the "ruins of a small fort were discovered buried in the dense jungle," on the highest point of the Mahamati range, along the line of the road. "The fort was of brick, rectangular in shape and about 200 yards square and not far from it were found some handsomely cut Hindu statues of aboriginal type, the figures interposed in the bas-relief of a snake also figuring in the groups." The so-called fort was doubtless a monastery and the sculptures part of the decoration of its shrine. But it was left to the accident of war to discover unmistakably the veritable remains of the ancient Pattikera. In 1844-45 the headquarters of the British Fourteenth Army were at Comilla and military buildings were erected at various points on the Mahamati Lā māi ridge. The contractor on digging up the ridge discovered an unexpected and apparently unbraked supply of bricks, which he proceeded to dig out systematically and re-use in the new structures. Amongst the bricks were sculptured plaques and other objects which eventually attracted attention and were partially saved. Much damage had then been done, but there is still ample scope for less summary exploration.

So far as can be determined at present, the principal structures extended sporadically along the ridge from end to end with a concentration towards the north. Eighteen main sites or groups of sites have so far been detected and mapped of which the following may be noted. Minor No. 5, a large mound 2 miles south of the Dhaka Chittagong trunk road, was so thoroughly rummaged for bricks that the main elements of the building plan can be reconstructed from the contractor's spoil trenches. The ruins have been nicknamed 'Anamaraṅga Palace' but they represent a monastery with a square a furnace in length enclosing a central building of a rectangular form the whole resembling the stūpa and monastery at Palahpur (above). As at the latter site, the walls of the central building had been enhanced with bands of terracotta panels in the vivid Pala folk style, representing the Buddha and a wide range of

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semi-divine, prestigious and secular subjects including warriors, acrobats, musicians, eagles, animals and plants (pl. XVIII). There were also many bricks bearing geometrical patterns. It is evident that at least in richness of decoration, though not perhaps in quality, the stūpa or stūpa must have rivaled the archetype at Pāṇḍrapur.

South of this mound is Mound No. 6, known as "Rūṣhan-Kanvā's Palace." Here again the traces of a central structure and enclosing walls can be made out, and a further series of terracotta plaques was recovered from the debris.

A short distance further south are the ruins of the so-called "Bhojarāj's Palace" (Mound No. 7). Fragments of massive brick walling represent a central building possibly square on plan and profuse & decorated with terracotta plaques and ornamental bricks. The plaques are comparable with those from Mound No. 5.

Half a mile to the south south west is Mound No. 10, known locally as "Rūṣhan-mura," a complex covering an area about 400 yards square, which has been extensively despoiled. At one point a cruciform brick structure with re-entrant angles and recessed corners, richly decorated with plaques and moldings can be detected. It is said that the contractor's men found here seven pots containing five or six images of the Buddha in bronze. Thirteen of these images were subsequently recovered: they are not more than 2 inches in height, and represent the Buddha in the earth touching attitude. The cross formula is embossed on the under side. They resemble inscribed votive bronzes from Jaeswari in the Chittagong district, which are assignable to the ninth to eleventh centuries A.D.

The chronology of these various groups of sculpture is necessarily hypothetical in the absence of scientific excavation, but their general character indicates the eighth to eleventh centuries A.D. They add notably to the importance of the East Bengal school which they represent.

MAHĀSTHAN

For Hindu buildings of these centuries, we may return to Mahasthan, the ancient Pundra-nagar. This was apparently, as we have seen (p. 96), a provincial capital as early as the Mauryan period, and about the third century B.C. Here also, as excavation has shown, was a city of the Guptas (fourth to seventh century A.D.), and here in and after the sixth century ruled the famous Palas, children of the local soil. Even when its days as an administrative centre were over, it remained a place of regular pilgrimage to the *darqah* or sacred place of a Muslim warrior-saint, Shah Sultan Māhsawar, which crowns the highest mound above a buried temple of Śiva. Within the *darqah* is a small mosque built in A.D. 1718.

It was possibly the Palas who built the brick defensive walls, 11 feet thick, which frame an oblong plateau, the *qirah* or fort, some 5,000 feet long and 4,000 feet broad and rising today to a height of 15 feet above the bank of the river Karatara which flanks it on the east. Towards the north, west and south, for a radius of 4 miles, other mounds indicate outlying buildings and suburbs. Close outside the fortified area, a large Viṣṇu temple has been partially exposed on the Govinda Bhāta mound and has been ascribed to the late Gupta period, with subsequent rebuildings. It has varied decorated bricks and sculptured terracotta panels of the characteristic Bengali type already referred to. But the notable feature of Mahasthan is the liberal use of cellular construction, i.e. the employment of rectangular compartments packed closely with earth as the base or nucleus of a tall massive podium crowned either by a stūpa or perhaps as at Pāṇḍrapur by a stūpa. Cellular construction is not indeed confined to Bengal; it occurs, for example, far to the west in two tall temples at Aihola, Kanur in the Bārcilly district of U.P.,

at it was found specially suitable by the Bengali monarchs as an economical means of raising their sacred buildings to a commanding height above the flood level of their monsoon-ridden landscape, and was widely employed by them during the five centuries preceding the Islamic conquest.

A notable example of this type of structure lies about a mile to the south of the walled town on a ridge known as Tekel Me, at the village of Gokul. Here excavation has revealed a roughly cruciform substructure at least 25 feet long and of elaborate multiple cell-construction (pl. XVIII). On the substructure is an octagonal base or plinth, which may have carried a stūpa; but no part of the original superstructure remains. The latter had been repaired during the Sena period (eleventh to twelfth century) and by a square shrine and porch placed at a slight angle on it. The approach had been from the west, but the doorways of the shrine and porch had been blocked up. The door-level raised to an unknown height. Clearance within the shrine revealed a small intrusive cell containing a human skeleton—possibly the cen. of an anchorite—and under it, a shallow circular brick paved pit 1½ feet 8 inches in diameter, which partly underlay the shrine and presumably belonged to it. In the centre of the pit was laid a stone slab 1 foot 8 inches by 1½ feet bearing twelve shallow holes and, in the middle, a larger hole which contained a tiny gold coin less than an inch square, bearing the figure of a person bent in repose and indicating that the overlying shrine was a Śiva temple. Nothing was found underneath the slab.

Terraces ascribed to the Gupta period were found during the work but no satisfactory chronology was established. It is evident that the whole structure originally constituted an imposing terrace-plate with a central shrine of complex outline possibly Buddhist and with shrines at the four main corners of the podium, the whole thus forming an elaborate plan of *prāchīnāra* or five-fold type. The plan of the main seventh-century shrine at Nālandā (Bihar) is partially comparable.

Other examples of the same construction are certainly present elsewhere in the vicinity and will come to light by careful exploration. The time will come when a monograph on the early medieval architecture of East Pakistan will add a new and individual chapter to the story of Asiatic building-design and engineering.

18. THE MUSLIM PERIOD IN EAST PAKISTAN: THE URBAN SETTING

ON a morning of the year 1139, the aged raja Lakshmana Sena, Brahmanical ruler of Bengal, was seated at dinner in his camp at Nūdia, when a sudden clamour arose in the environs of his headquarters. Shortly afterwards, members of his court burst into the room and with a hurried word hustled him through a back door to a boat on the adjacent river. The little party contrived its tumultuous flight by water and land towards Vakrampur (p. 104), in what is now the Dacca district and, as it passed out of view, flames were already rising from the hutments behind it.

Thus began the long period of Muslim domination in Bengal. The author of the disturbance had been the redoubtable *Qutab-ud-din* Muhammad bin Bakhtiar of Khaj, freemooting general of Qutub-ud-din Arbak Turkoman viceroy and later sultan of Delhi. He had ridden ahead of his troops with only eighteen men and, mistaken for a horse-dealer, had penetrated

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to the rajahs and warriors without opposition. After the destruction of the camp he proceeded to install himself at the Hindu capital, Lalshamavati or Gaur, and was confirmed in his conquests by Qutub-ud-din as a dependent of him. Hereafter the establishment of Islam in what is now East Pakistan proceeded unopposed, helped doubtless by the disappearance of the dominant Brahminism and contentious Brahmanism of the region to offer any serious spiritual opposition.

The most notable material relics of this new era of Islam are the mosques and tombs which, being built of brick and stone, have long outlasted the more fragile secular buildings that at one time surrounded them. But as a preface to our descriptions of selected monuments of this era, we may glance for a moment at their vanished urban background. Reference has already been made in the preceding chapter to certain of the pre-Muslim cities of East Bengal, to Patuanagar or Manikganj which may go back to the time of Ashoka and beyond, to Pattikera, headquarters of a Hinduist principality on the eastern fringe of the province, to Nalanda, the town or semi-permanent camp where Muhammad bin Bakhtiar rudely interrupted the rule of the Sena kings, and to Vikramapur to which the emperor, Lakshmanabhatta, drew. Others might easily be added. Here it will suffice to add a further word about twelfth-century Vikramapur, which is represented today by a large amorphous area some 12 miles southeast of Dacca at the confluence of the river Dhaka and a branch of the Brahmaputra (map, fig. 17). Brickbaths and sherds litter the fields but the only coherent relic of this period is the Bahadur, the name of which associates it traditionally with Bahauddin Vali, about A.D. 1159-70, one of the more famous of the Sena rulers. The visible remains of the Bahadur are a slightly raised, plateau about 750 feet square surrounded by a ditch about 200 feet broad, with an entrance-causeway in the middle of the east side. Cunningham, writing in 1879, mentions an entrance in this, now obscured by irrigation canals. Brick debris can be seen at various points in the enclosure, but no intelligible structure is exposed. It is likely enough that the site is that of the furthest nucleus of the widespread Brahmanical capital. A later medieval mosque in the vicinity is described on p. 115.

When we reach the Muslim period, and after the thirteenth century, A.D., cities of more or less metropolitan status crowd upon us. The twin capitals of Gaur and Pandua, little more than a miles apart on opposite sides of the Malamara river, are just inside the western boundary of East Pakistan, save for a tiny fragment of the southern end of Gaur. They are marked today by immense earth-covered ramparts, wide gates, fragmentary but still imposing brick gateways, and a famous series of mosques, tombs and minarets. A famous and severe tomb to the south-east, the three great minarets of Vikramapur, Sargajia and Dacca may with a dozen miles of river and a great part of the fluctuating river system of the Ganges-Brahmaputra delta. The recurrent rise and fall of these successive or sometimes contemporaneous capitals is not always easy to explain. Gaur, for example, as Lakshmanavati or Langatādi was the principal Sena capital at the time of the Muslim invasion and remained the chief seat of Delhi rule in Bengal until 1338, whereafter an independent Islamic administration established itself in the already existing town of Pandua, now known as Farizabad. A century later, Gaur once more became the capital, but in 1560 the government was transferred to Janna, away to the south-west. In 1573-6 Akbar's first viceroy re-transferred the administration to Gaur, but an epidemic resulted in its hasty return to Pandua, whence it was finally afterwards removed across the Ganges to Rajshahi. Then in 1610 it was established for a few decades at Dacca, which now, for the first time, under the name of Jahangirnagar, emerged as a major city. About the middle of the century, prince Shah Shuja, as viceroy of Bengal, returned to

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Rajendra Chandra Ghose, who Mr. Tennant (A.D. 1656-63) transferred the administration to Dacca where it remained until the end of the Aurangzeb March 1688-89.

It is not without considerable antiquity, the ancient city of Sonargaon lies east-south-east of Dacca, about 7 or 8 miles from the city, on a low-lying tract of land. The name is an old one, probably of its Hindu period, at the end of the reign of Balabhadra Shah (A.D. 1266-87); the district was then a Hindu chief's territory. Fakir-yadulla Murtaza Shah, a former armourer, created a large free independent state with a seat of government at Sonargaon. But soon afterwards he was overthrown by a Lhasa Shah, the real founder of the independent Muslim kingdom of Bengal, in which Sonargaon received the secondary status of a subsidiary capital. It, however, continued to be important. As a provincial capital, it was generally ruled by one of the sons or brothers of the reigning king. Sometimes the provincial governor asserted a virtual independence, as did Gazi-yahaddin Azam Shah (A.D. 1389-1409); and, much later, the celebrated Iskandar who was ruling here about 1580. The traditional tomb of Azam Shah can still be seen at the site (p. 100).

Like many of these cities, Sonargaon may best be visualized as a series of more or less detached groups of buildings covering in the aggregate a large area bordered by river or swamp. The site as seen today is a triangular expanse some 1 mile from east to west and perhaps 2 miles from north to south, set between a stream of the Brahmaputra and the Meghna rivers and interspersed with fields and jungle. Somewhere (as at Vikrampur and Mahastan), there was doubtless a fortified nucleus (possibly at the modern village of Mograpara where half a century ago could be seen an "embrace" now cleared away) which still bears the name of *Dipdandah* ("fort"). Nearby are the ruins of secular buildings of paneled and plastered brick work of the seventeenth century and a small three-arched mosque rebuilt in A.D. 1700 but incorporating a fifteenth century mihrab and inscription, the latter now extracted and lying loose, bearing the name of Lalulahi in Fath Shah and the date of A.D. 1184. For the rest we must suppose that the houses and shops resembled those of a Bengali village of the present time. Mr. Ralph Rieu, Merchant of London, who visited Sonargaon in A.D. 1586, records that "there is wheat and best cloth made of cotton that is in all India. The chief king of all these countries is called Iscan, and he is chief of all the other kings, and he is a great friend to all Christians. The houses here, as they be in most part of India, are very little, and covered with straw, and have a few mats hanging at the walls and the floor to keep out the tigers and foxes; many of the people are very rich. Here they will eat no flesh, nor kill no beast, they live on rice, milk, and fruits. They go with all the cloth before them, and all the rest of their body is naked. Great store of soft and good goats for mutton and milk, wherewith they serve all India (except Pegu, Malacca, Sumatra, and many other places). And nearly a century later in A.D. 1660 Tavernier noted the same sort of thing at the Meghna provincial capital, itself. "Dacca is a large city extending along the banks of the river; the inhabitants wish up to have their houses close to the temples. These houses are in fact nothing but miserable huts, built of bamboo, grass and mud. Those within the more central part of Dacca are equally ill built, and as for the residence of the governor it is enclosed by high walls, in the midst of which there is a palace constructed entirely of wood. It is usual to reside in tents pitched in a large court within this enclosure."

Cities thus lightly built were easily moved at the sacrifice of the more durable mosques and forts which partly and serve time and again replace. And as we have seen, moved they were, like chessmen in the complicated political and economic game of the times. Occasionally, as in the recorded instance at Gaud, epidemic disease lent a hand. Sometimes we may suspect

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a tendency of caprice in the occasional rulers such as results in the restless civic history of Delta. More often the caprice was naturalness of nature rather than of man. The delta river-system of Bengal was led by the annual monsoon, changes its shape from year to year and so changes the economy of the countryside which it serves or deserts or browses. And there was yet another contradictory factor—the need for the suppression of river-pirates on the frontier. Rājmañal, says the eye-witness Tavernier “ had long been the residence of the governors of Bengal.

But the river having altered its course—as well as for the purpose of checking the depredations of the king of Arracan and some Portuguese banditti—who inflated the mouth of the Ganges and molested the inland parts of Dacca, the governor and the merchants who resided at Rājmañal quitted that place and removed to Dacca, which is at present a city of great trade.

The last time I visited Dacca the nawab Shāista khān who was then governor of Bengal, was at war with the king of Arracan whose navy of ree usually consisted of two hundred gallees, besides smaller vessels. These gallees navigate on parts of the gulf of Bengal and enter the river Ganges the tide flowing higher up than Dacca.

“ Shāista khān (nephew to Aurangzē), the reigning emperor and the most intelligent man in the empire found the means of detaching several chiefs from the army of the king of Arracan and at the same time forty gallees commanded by Portuguese joined him. In order the more strongly to attract these new auxiliaries to his service he gave a large monthly payment to each of the Portuguese chiefs and seamen, proportioned to their several ranks. . .

“ It is a most surprising thing to see with what celerity these gallees are rowed: there are some so long that they have fifty oars on each side. Many of them are highly ornamented with azure and gold.”

Thus with the help of mercenary fleets operating under the immediate eye of the viceroy, seventeenth century Dacca marshalled the extensive river traffic of the great delta on the further limit of the Moghul dominion. Janglī's fortified base at Dacca itself as completely disappeared, but other riverine forts, such as those at Muzamganj (Mirakpūr), Sonakāñia and Hingganj (p. 127), survive as evidence of the efforts of successive governors to safeguard the eastern commerce of the empire. How far their efforts succeeded is less certain. Even today no small craft will put out from the shores of some of these rivers after dark for fear of the river-lacouts who maintain, seemingly with adequate reward, a traditional occupation of the locality.

Finally for a general picture of life in Bengal under the Muslim rulers we cannot do better than quote a chapter from a Chinese account written early in the fifteenth century by one Mañan who was sent to various kingdoms of the western ocean by the Chinese emperor Yang-ko.

“ The kingdom of Pang-ko-lā (Bengal) is reached by ship from the kingdom of Sumen-tā-lā, the samara of Marco Polo, the kingdom of Samalanga in Sumatra near Acheen) as follows: a course is shaped for the Mañanar an island off Acheen. Here must pass the promontories Pūn Bras or Nasir and Tsu-lān Islands (the Nicobars); these being reached the vessel then has to steer north-westward, being favoured with a fair wind for twenty-one days arrives first at Che-ti-gan (Chittagong) where she anchors. Small boats are then used to ascend the river up which at a distance of 500 li (a li is about a third of a mile, 500 li is approximately 180 miles) or more one arrives at a place called Sonakāñ-ging (Sonarganj) where one lands, travelling from which place in a south-westerly direction for thirty-five stages the kingdom of Bengala is reached. It is a kingdom with walled cities and (in the capital) the king and officials of all ranks have their residences. It is an extensive country: its products are abundant and its people numerous; they are Moham-

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Fig. 17

nations, and in their dealings are open and straightforward. The rich hold ships in which they carry on commerce with foreign nations; many are engaged in trade and a goodly number occupy themselves with agriculture and pursuits while others exercise their crafts as mechanics. They are a dark-skinned race although you occasionally see among them a light-complexioned person, the men shave their heads and wear white cloth turbans and a long loose robe with a round collar which they put on over their heads and which is fastened in at the waist by a broad coloured handkerchief; they wear pointed leather shoes. The king and his officers all dress like Mohammedans; their head-dresses and clothes are beautifully arranged. The language of the people is Bengali; Persian is also spoken there.

The currency of the country is a silver coin called Tang ka which is two Chinese mace in weight; one mace and two tenths is in diameter and is engraved on either side; all large business transactions are carried on with this coin, but for small purchases they use a sea-shell called by foreigners Kao-li.

"The ceremonies observed by them on their coming of age, their funerals, sacrifices and marriages are like those of the Mohammedans.

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The winter here is not so cold as in the north. There are two crops of rice a year. There is a peculiar kind of rice whose grain is long with an end like a needle. Wheat, sorghum, wheat, kidney beans, mung beans, chickpeas, lentils and vegetables of many kinds are grown there in great quantities. There are many animals and birds which are raised here, among them are cows, buffaloes, horses, mules, asses, camels, deer, antelope, sheep, geese, ducks, fowls, pigs, cats and rats. They have also many other fruits besides the pomegranate, such as the jack fruit, mangoes, pineapples, and figs. The climate is very hot, and the people are very fond of eating and drinking.

Not far from the town there are many small villages. The streets are well paved with stone of various kinds, also drinking and eating houses and bathing establishments.

Cattle and birds are numerous among which are camels, horses, mules, asses, buffaloes, deer, antelope, sheep, geese, ducks, fowls, pigs, cats and rats. They have also many other fruits besides the pomegranate, such as the jack fruit, mangoes, pineapples, and figs. The climate is very hot, and the people are very fond of eating and drinking.

Among their manufactures are five or six kinds of cotton fabric (muslins), one of which is called Pi-pi, has the foreign name of Pi-lin. This fabric is of a soft texture three feet broad and made up in lengths of fifty six or fifty seven feet. There is also a finer and more valuable Muslin, the fabric is four feet wide and fifty feet long. It is very closely woven and strong. There is another fabric, five feet wide and twenty feet long, called Shama-khi, like the Lo-pu. There is also another kind with the foreign name of Han-pu, having a width of three feet and a length of sixty feet. The muslins of this texture are open and regular, it is somewhat like lace and is used for turbans. There is also a fabric called Shama-khi, the Chinese name is Mo-ho, it is a fabric open length of twenty feet, four feet wide and both sides it has a fringe four to five tenths in thickness, and resembles the Chinese Tow-lo-ken.

The mulberry tree and silkworm are found there. Silk handkerchiefs and caps are made and sold there. Painted ware, brass caps, steel guns, knives and scissors are sold there. They manufacture a white paper from the bark of a tree which is soft and glossy like a deer's skin.

Their punishments for breaking the law are beating and the beating and transportation to near and far countries. You find there as with us officers of various grades with their official residences, their seals and systems of official correspondence, also doctors, astronomers, professors, governors, artisans and artists. They have a standing army, which is paid in kind, the commander in chief of which is called a Pa-szu-lah, probably Superintendent.

The women here wear a long white cotton garment or bordered with black thread fastened round the waist with a cord made of black cotton. They have a kind of earrings, stones and coral beads and on the wrists bracelets of black coral beads. At feasts and parties these people are engaged to play certain pieces of music, and to sing their native songs and to go through various dances together.

There is another class of people called Khat, who are known that sit and sing and dance every evening at a table of five or six to the women of the house, the men and the women all have a kind of trumpet, another beats a small drum, another a large one, when they commence their time is a while it gradually increases to the end when the music suddenly stops. In this way they pass on from house to house at great times they again go and the houses where they receive presents of food or money.

There are many other things that their performances are nothing very extraordinary. The following festival however is worthy of mention. A man and his wife parade the streets with a great number of children and a great number of people, they have the following performance. They get a number of men to sit on the ground, the man, quite naked and with

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a swine in his hand of bones in front of the tiger pulls him about knuckles him with a fist and kills him. The tiger becomes enraged, grows in his rage upon the man, and they bathe and over together. The man then jumps his arm into the tiger's mouth and draws its throat, the tiger draws forth its arm when this is over the tiger hangs just round the tiger's neck and hangs down. The performers then beg food for the tiger from the masses round and they generally get pieces of meat given them for the least with a present of money for themselves.

They have a fixed calendar, twice months to the year, they have no intercalary month. The king sits at 4 p.m. and sends their foreign countries trade. Pearls and precious stones are sent as tribute to China. (*Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc.* 1895, II, 523-4.)

19. MUSLIM ARCHITECTURE OF EAST PAKISTAN: GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

SOME of the general principles of Muslim architecture have been considered above (p. 63). It has been indicated that these principles common throughout the Islamic world are varied and enriched from place to place in conformity with local conditions and traditions. Particularly is this the case in Bengal. There is a closeness combined with a masterful environment and a zeal to create a local school of design and structure that may be described as specifically Bengali. The proximity of peculiarly luxuriant jungle is reflected in a luxuriant richness of surface-decoration and in a fondness for forms derived from organic-construction, whilst an exceptionally wet climate, aggravated by two annual monsoons, encourages the use of roofs (domes) rather than open courts. In a late phase the particular centralization of the Moghul style produced on the one hand a diffusion of Bengali elements—particularly the convex curves and roof ridges—towards the west (see pp. 82 and 86) and on the other hand a reaffirmation of Persian motifs in the east so that by the seventeenth century Muslim architecture, whilst retaining local features, presented a new measure of uniformity throughout the northern half of the sub-continent.

If we now examine these various traits and tendencies a little more closely, we shall find it convenient to group our material into three phases. The first phase comprises the architecture of the independent kingdom of Bengal during the fifteenth and first three quarters of the sixteenth century A.D. The second phase extends from the first intrusion of the Moghuls in A.D. 1575 to the completion of the Moghul conquest by the establishment of Dacca as the viceregal capital in A.D. 1612. The third phase includes the full development of a provincial Moghul culture from A.D. 1612 to the end of our period (A.D. 1757). Let us consider each of these phases briefly in turn.

Phase I (prior to A.D. 1575). The Islamic architecture of pre-Moghul Bengal was based primarily upon that of Delhi which nominally annexed the province with A.D. 1338. What may be described as Delhi features include (a) the liberal use of stone masonry, a practice widely extended in Bengal owing to climatic conditions; (b) the occasional use of massive circular domed corner-towers—compare for example the corner towers of the Shatganbad mosque at Hagerhat (p. 114) with those of the Markapur Kalan mosque at Dacca built soon after A.D. 1370; (c) the free use of stone two-centred arches—often stilted; (d) the special curving of some of the arches, of which there are several thirteenth-century examples at Delhi; (e) the fashioning of the *Ami Darwaza* (A.D. 1305), and (f) the fashion for narrowly cusped or enfiladed

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arches with a bandant floriate decoration within a richly decorated rectangular framework as in the terrible terraces of the Ajshah-ka-Hisra mosque at Ajmer (A.D. 1300). This last feature, in particular though derived from the Sulpia architecture of Iran fitted the native genius of the Bengal craftsmen for terracotta carving a craft which as we have seen, had been developed in the service of the local Buddhism and Brahmanism long before the arrival of Islam.

To these borrowed elements, the Bengal builders proceeded to add other traits or preferences of their own. They lacked as a rule, the sense for concentrated design that distinguished the Delhi architects. The long lines of unadorned entrances to their mosques offer no focus to the eye such as was given by the central bay or enlarged central entrance favoured by Delhi. It may be that the Bengal masons discouraged the larger entrance although later Moghal architects were not so affected. As a partial substitute for the high central area the Bengal architects gave a certain differential symmetry to their façades by the quaint device of transferring to their corners the convex profile of the eaves or ridge of a bamboo hut. The Bengal eye evidently demanded this convexity as the Greek eye demanded the more subtle convexity of eustachian profiles. A further derivation from bamboo construction may be recognized in the free use of small rectangular wall panels recalling those formed by the bamboo framework of a Bengal hut. Internally in northern lanes of Hindu type and, often enough of Hindu origin were frequently used to divide the aisles and support the domes, and for the further support of the latter there was a great liking for pendentives of corbelled brickwork, each alternate course projecting angularwise and so producing a not unpleasant toothed appearance vaguely recalling honeycombing. Finally the engrailed arch with its incrustations of ornament was elaborated joyfully by the Bengalis who usually added to the design a central pendent loop or bell which itself sprouted exuberantly into flowers and vines and grape-like bunches. This floriate patterning was still relatively restrained at the beginning of the fifteenth century but a century later it had become a riotous jungle growth beyond all rational control.

Phase II (A.D. 1575-1612). This phase was no less of true transition than of uncertainty. Its terminal date is arbitrary, and might possibly be extended to A.D. 1640, or even later. In the last quarter of the sixteenth century the Moghals were advancing from West Bengal, and elements of their style such as the use of the triple entrance arch lines with higher central arch and the introduction of a battlemented cresting began to appear sporadically alongside and intermingled with the more native transition described above. The phase is not one of our great importance. The country was in a constant state of disturbance and the surprising thing is not that there was so little new construction, but that there was any at all.

Phase III (after A.D. 1612). The settlement of the province and the establishment of its capital at Dhacca were accessible to maritime trade and at the same time strategically convergent for the control of the eastern frontier by land, sea and river was followed though not immediately by a great outburst of building activity. In this remote region much depended upon the generosity of the viceroys for the time being and it was not until the middle and second half of the century that a succession of enterprising governors systematically undertook or encouraged the enrichment of the province and particularly its capital, with mosques and other buildings of the first order. The architectural development of the eastern part of the Moghal empire thus reached its maximum rather more than a generation later than that of the west and so represents the Moghal style or complex of styles, when they had passed their prime. If, however, there is no Moghal architecture in East Pakistan that can rival Shahjahan's

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work at Dacca or Lalre there are many villages at Dacca and elsewhere which preserve, with a touch of local colour, something of the imperial dignity that is rarely missing in the Moghul style until after the time of Aurangzêb.

The Moghul architects restored to Bengal certain centralizing features which were traditional in Persian design but had become obscured in the highly provincialized pre-Moghul Bengal style. These features included a dominant central dome and a tall central entrance, the latter emphasized by being set in a taller half-circled outer arch and often by being framed in a slightly projecting bay with flanking plaster minare. The result of this arrangement was an easy concentration of the eye upon the centre of the building enclosing the principal mihrab, and this concentration was further encouraged by the normal restriction of secondary openings in the main facade to one on each side producing the three-arched pattern which was also in origin a Persian motif. Arches were now usually four-centred, not as in pre-Moghul design two-centred, and the multiple cusping popularized by Shikarpûr was now accepted in a province where the spiked or engraved arch had long been familiar. Wall paneling retained its vogue, but the rectangular panels now enclosed four-centred or multi-cusped arches, or an arch with curved shoulders and a long straight, horizontal top which is characteristic of Aurangzêb's reign. A battlemented cresting of unperforated merlons crowns the elevation and guards the base of the domes externally and, more rarely internally. The convex Bengal cornice is now almost unknown, but a vestige of it is sometimes retained in the framing of the paneling. Plaster ornament replaces terracotta and there is a fondness for the Persian intersecting-rib or *torlas* pattern in plaster-relief, particularly in the half-domes over the entrances.

Altogether the design of Moghul building in Bengal is better focused, lighter, less dungeon-like than that of the local tradition. If at the same time it tends to lack individuality as a local genius, it suffers from the inevitable handicap of an essentially imperial and imposed style. It should be emphasized that the intrusive element is confined mainly to the provincial capital of Dacca. Elsewhere in the Bengal countryside the pre-Moghul motifs lingered on with varying and often insignificant influence from the new metropolitan fashions. In other words, the local tradition was supplemented rather than transformed by the advent of the Moghuls.

20. PHASE I: PRE-MOGHUL (PRIOR TO A.D. 1575)

FROM this general sketch we turn to selected examples of the three main architectural phases which we have been able to distinguish. Our first examples are chosen to illustrate the pre-Moghul period, roughly equivalent, so far as East Bengal is concerned, to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The monuments described below chronologically are exclusively mosques and mausolea, the equivalent domestic structures having been almost totally obliterated. These religious structures exhibit certain common characteristics which may be grouped under the following sub-classes.

A. *Pavilion type*—This type is illustrated only by the tomb-building of Ghiyath-ud-din Azam Shah which as described below originally consisted of a pavilion on stone pillars. The type is an imitation of the *barabars* of Delhi.

B. *Oblong type with central nave vaulted or roofed over by pyramidal domes with multi-*

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domed sub-structure The earliest example of this type in Bengal is at Shahid A. A. Mosque at Hazrat Pandua built by Sultan Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah in A.D. 1366 or 1374. This is an oblong structure divided into a central nave and two side wings. The central nave is covered by an elegant vault which is surmounted by a dome. The side wings are covered by a series of smaller vaults. The whole structure is a masterpiece of architecture. The number of domes is a function of the number of bays. In East Pakistan, this type is represented by the Dargah at Hazrat Pandua. The Chhota Shah Mosque at Hazrat Pandua is a sub-class of the central nave is covered by a pyramidal chhatra roof which is an evolution of the type evolved at the Shahid A. A. Mosque.

Square single-domed type The earliest building of this type is the Shahid A. A. Mosque at Hazrat Pandua, traditionally famous as the tomb of Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah (A.D. 1315-1400) the prime minister of Raja Ganesha or Kalahasthi as he is known to the Muslims. Its dimensions are nearly square being 74½ feet by 74½ feet externally changing into a square of 48½ feet diameter in the middle. There are four arched doorways flanked with four frames from Hindu temples on each face, and there is a column within the thickness of the wall at each of the four corners. The central dome rises directly from the centre of the interior. There is a circular octagonal area below the dome which looks like a platform. In East Pakistan the earliest monument of this type is Shahid A. A. Mosque at Hazrat Pandua. The type was also copied in some of the mosques e.g. in Dargah at Hazrat Pandua at Barisal. It occurred in Persian architecture as early as the tenth century A.D. and has been derived by some writers from Sassanian fire-temples of pre-Islamic times.

Multi-domed oblong type This is an oblong structure divided into several bays by rows of pillars supporting the arcades of the domes with a range of pillars across the middle wall and a corresponding range of arched openings in the front. The roof consists of successive rows of small low domes, the number depending on the number of inter-spaces formed by the division of the building into bays and aisles. The latest extant building of this class in Bengal is at Hazrat Pandua is associated with the name of Shahid A. A. which is recorded in an inscription to have been built in A.D. 1450.

Square domed mosque with corridor or path in front This type is a further development of the square type. The square plan of the mosque is framed by a single aisle with the corridor or path either by the smaller domes or by a vaulted roof. The earliest extant type in East Pakistan appears to be the one at Masjid at Hazrat Pandua built in A.D. 1460. The only other specimen in Bengal being the Chhatra mosque in the Indian portion of Dhaka district erected in A.D. 1460.

THE GRAVE OF GHİYĀTH-UD-DĪN A'ZAM SHĀH

(SUB-CLASS A)

The earliest Muslim monument in East Pakistan appears to be the ruined tomb ascribed to Ghiyathuddin A'zam Shah (A.D. 1384-1406) a ruler north-west of the village of Mansurpur Hazrat Pandua a part of the ancient site of Sharnapur (see p. 105). The tomb is of black basalt and is a panelled structure with a panel of stone of fine polished marble. The eastern side of the tomb is a three-arched structure with a panel consisting of an ogival arch carried on baluster-piers with pinnacles in the spandrels and a decorative lamp hanging from the apex of the arch. There are traces of a vaulted panel on the north side and other decorative fragments are said to have been removed to the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The tomb is reported to have been surrounded by pillars about 5 feet high which presumably carried a canopy or pavilion, and at the head of the tomb by a small

PHASE I. PRE-MOGHUL (PRIOR TO A.D. 1575)

stone pillar which had four tiers, when erect, been used as a *chirāghdān* or a stand for a light.

The *Shāh*, was a picturesque figure, with the combined cruelty, culture and sentiment of his age. The three nations of his stepmother drove him reluctantly into armed conflict with his father, Iskander, the second of the independent *Il-yās* rulers of Bengal, who was mortally wounded in the battle but died in his son's arms with forgiveness on his lips. A'zam proceeded to slay all his seventeen stepbrothers—a perfectly normal procedure, with the added refinement that he sent their eyes to the stepmother. Other stories of a more attractive kind are told of A'zam. One of them shows him as a correspondent of the great Persian poet Hafiz, whose (modern) tomb is still an object of veneration at Shirāz. The story is thus told:

A'zam, stricken down by a dangerous malady, abandoned hope of life and directed that three girls of his harem, named, Cypress, Rose, and Tulp, should wash his corpse and prepare it for burial. He escaped death and attributing his recovery to the auspicious influence of the three girls made them his favourites. Their advancement excited the jealousy of the other inmates of the harem, who applied to their alious epithet *ghossala*, or corpse-washer. One day the king, in merry mood with his three favourites, uttered as an impromptu the opening *Lezzatich* for the one 'Cypriote' the tale now runs of the Cypress, the Rose and the Tulp' and finding that neither he nor any poet of his court could continue the theme satisfactorily sent an officer to Hafiz at Shirāz who developed the *Lezzatich* into an ode and completed the first couplet with the hemistich—'And the argument is sustained with the help of three mirroring draughts' the word used for mirroring draught being the same as that used for 'corpse-washer'. The *double entendre* was more efficacious even than the king's favour and secured the three reigning beauties from molestation."

Another story goes as follows:

One day while practising with his bow and arrow he accidentally wounded the only son of a widow. The woman appealed for justice to the qazi, who sent an officer to summon the king to his court. The officer gained access to the royal presence by a stratagem and unceremoniously served the summons. A'zam, after concealing a short sword beneath his arm, obeyed the summons and, on appearing before the judge, was abruptly charged with his offence and commanded to compensate the complainant. After a short discussion of terms the woman was compensated and the judge, on ascertaining that she was satisfied, rose, made his reverence to the king, and seated him on a throne which had been prepared for his reception. The king, drawing his sword, turned to the qazi and said, 'We judge you have done your duty. If you had failed in it by a hair's breadth I would have taken your head off with this sword.' The qazi placed his hat under the cushion on which the king was seated and producing a scourge, said 'O king! You have obeyed the law. Had you failed in this duty your back should have been scarified with the scourge!' A'zam, appreciating the qazi's manly independence, richly rewarded him."

Such stories may serve as a substitute for the missing canopy of the royal tomb.

FIVE THOUSAND YEARS OF PAKISTAN

THE TOMB OF KHÂN-I-JAHÂN ALI

(SUB-CLASS C)

Little is known of Khân-i-Jahân 'Alî whose tomb was built at Bagerhat about A.D. 1459 but he appears to have been a personage of some local importance. He was apparently an ambitious officer of high rank in the military service of the Delhi empire and, taking advantage of the disorder prevailing in the central administration, he slipped out of Delhi and is supposed to have proceeded to South Bengal and to have established himself there first as a religious preacher. His influence seems to have assumed a secular character and he became a self-appointed leader in the province owing no formal allegiance to any ruler. His tomb is a low square brick building with small circular towers at the corners, a type of building not uncommon in Bengal but derived ultimately from Persian architecture where the square tomb with corner-towers and four domed corner-turrets was known at least as early as the tenth century and may go back to the Sassanian fire-temples of pre-Islamic date. A purely Bengali feature of the present tomb is the convex curves on each face emphasised by a triple string-course. In the centre of each side is an opening under a two-centred arch, with a horizontal stone lintel across the springing of the inner face, a feature with fifteenth-century analogies at Daula. The hemispherical dome is raised to cornice-level on a cylindrical drum and is carried on squinches. The interior was plastered and doubtless decorated, but all ornament has vanished. The tombstone is of pointed-turret form like that of A'zam (above, p. 112) and stands on a triple stone podium. The tombstone itself and the two upper stages of the podium bear the names of God and Qur'anic verses; the lowest stage and the floor of the chamber show traces of hexagonal encaustic tiles. The tomb as a whole is of no distinction but is characteristic of the simpler monumental architecture of Bengal in the fifteenth century A.D.

Just to the west of this tomb and within the same compound is a grave attributed to Mohammed Tahir, or Pir Ali, a converted Brahman who became Khân-i-Jahân 'Alî's prime minister.

THE SHATH GUMBAD MOSQUE OF KHÂN-I-JAHÂN 'ALÎ

(SUB-CLASS B)

Three miles south-west of Khân-i-Jahân 'Alî's tomb is a brick mosque which is associated with his name and is called *Shath Gumbad* (sixty domes), although it actually has no fewer than seventy-seven (pl. XXA). Like the tomb, it was built about A.D. 1459 and also like the tomb it represents externally the average standard of medieval Bengali building-design, with a somewhat wearisome repetition of unattractive features. At the four corners are stout circular domed towers with flat or nearly sloping walls of typical fourteenth-century Delhi type, between those on the main front are eleven slightly recessed openings with two-centred arches, the central opening somewhat higher than the others. Above them the cornice instead of having the usual Bengali convex elevation slopes upwards in straight lines towards a small triangular pediment over the central bay. Internally the building is divided into eleven aisles from north to south and seven from east to west, with two-centred brick arches at the intersections carried on slender octagonal pillars, mostly of stone. The seven central bays have pyramidal domes but the others are each surmounted by a hemispherical dome with pendentives formed by corbelled brickwork, alternate courses being carried on the projecting angles of a course of bricks set diagonally and thus forming a tooth pattern. The only features of any elaboration are the *mabruks*, which have two-centred engrafted arches on octagonal pillar-jambs

PHASE I PRE-MOGHUL (PRIOR TO A.D. 1575)

within a gate-like framework decorated in low relief with rosettes, niches and tendrils pattern.

It cannot be claimed that the building is a success either in general design or in decoration. Its sameness is derived mainly from the fourteenth-century architecture of Delhi but with all the governing imaginative strength which informs the latter at its best and at the same time it lacks the ornamenting wealth of detail which lends interest and a sort of idework beauty to the better examples of Bengal building. The monotony of its domes and arches is indeed red even by the assertive unconventionality of its broken-backed façade.

MOSQUE AT MASJIDKUR

(SUB-CLASS D)

At Masjidkur, not far from Baguriāt, is another mosque which is also attributed to Khun-i-Jahan Ali and may well be the work of the same rather unimaginative architect as the *Shah Gumbad*. Here happily there are only seven lines of uniform domes from north to south and three from east to west and the string of upward sloping cornice marks the central pediment. The seven small, two-centred openings of the façade are lost in massive brick walls nearly $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick and the prison-like aspect is emphasised rather than mitigated by a tiny decorative niche over the central archway and by a fringe of rosettes below the cornice. At the corners are once more the four Tughlakan towers. The best that can be said of the building is that it is a stern and reluctant reaction to a double-monsoon climate.

The ruins of another mosque of the same type can be seen at Jawaripur (Kulna district).

MOSQUE AT MASJIDBARI

(SUB-CLASS E)

At Masjidbari in the district of Bakarganj is a mosque recorded by inscription to have been erected by Khun Muzzam Qazal Khan in A.H. 870 (A.D. 1465). It is the earliest monument of the Muslim occupation of this area by Bakht-khatun Barbak Shah (A.D. 1459-74).

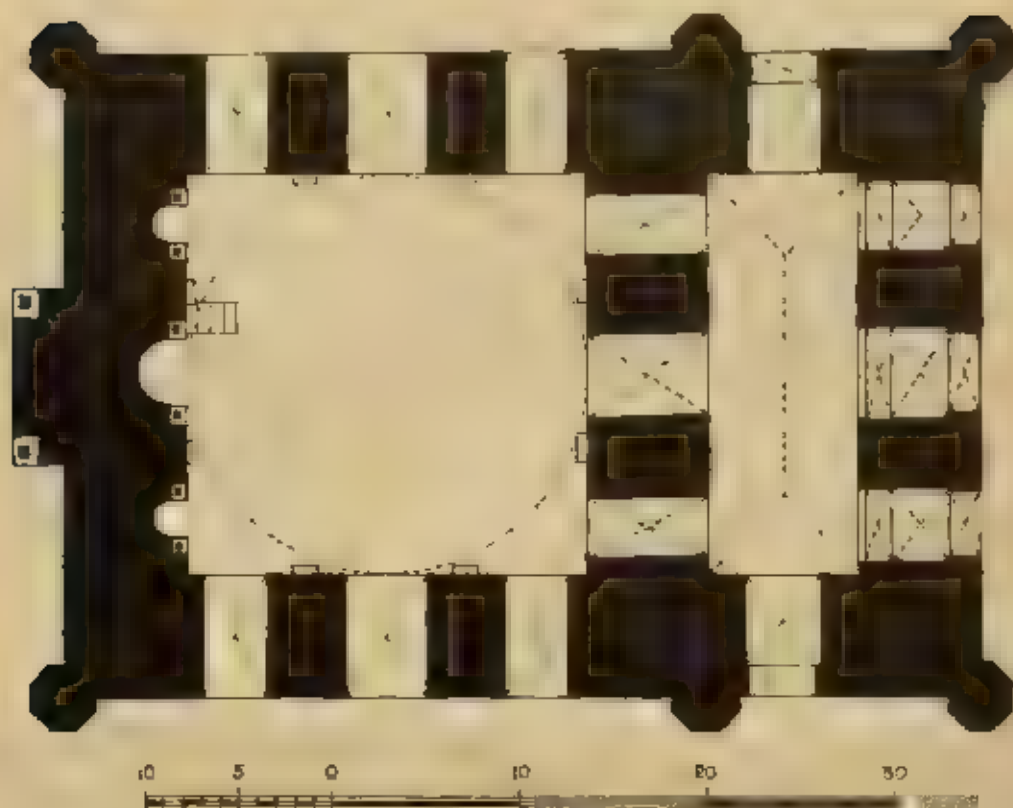
The mosque here is an oblong structure measuring externally 50 feet by 10 feet and consists of a square single-domed prayer-chamber with a vaulted entrance or narthex on the east. At the four corners are octagonal minarets with many niches. The eastern façade has three entrances with two-centred arches, but is devoid of ornamentation even the Bengali carved cornice is missing. The dome is hemispherical and is carried on squinches. There are three mihrabs, originally highly ornate.

THE MOSQUE OF BĀRĀ ĀDAM SHAHĪD

(SUB-CLASS D)

Sufficiently close in style and date to the Masjidkur and Shah Gumbad mosques for comparison and yet strikingly better balanced and more intelligent in design is a brick mosque at Vikranpur built, as an inscription upon it records, in A.D. 1483. The mosque is associated with the name of a saint, Bārā Ādam Shah, who is buried near by and is said to have lost his life in a fight against the Hindu king Vikram Sena whose son, Lakshman Sena was traditionally the founder of Lakshmanavati (Gaur) in the middle of the twelfth century A.D. It has the four corner-towers of the series, but here these are

MOSQUE AT MASJID BARI, DISTRICT BAKERGANG

FIG. 18 (*sketch-plan*)

octagonal and slender, broken by decorative string-courses and harmonize with the character and purpose of the building. The facade has three equal two-centred arches within a slightly projecting framework which gives light and shade and is further embellished by intermediate niches with engrafted two-centred arches on octagonal pilastrs and with pendent bells or lamps, all in terracotta. The cornice above is gracefully convex in the *beogul fasana*, and above it appear three hemispherical domes. Within are double aisles with two octagonal pilars of polished stone and brick responds, and in the west wall are three richly decorated mihrabs with engrafted two-centred arches (now much patched) and terracotta panelling. All three mihrabs project externally. The general effect both inside and out is at the same time restful and varied.

MOSQUE AT SURA IN DINAJPŪR DISTRICT

(SUB-CLASS B)

At Sura 14 miles east of Hahā town in Dinajpūr district is a mosque built in the style already common in the Lachar Masjid, A.D. 1475 at Gaūr. Like the Chhotā Sonā Masjid at Gaūr it is faced both externally and internally up to a certain height with stone, which is carved in shallow relief with floral designs copied from the local terracotta art. It is a square room 66 feet each side covered by a single dome with a verandah or narthex in front. But while at the Lattan Masjid the verandah is of the same length as the main chamber at Sura it is 17½ feet longer projecting equally on both sides. It has three arched openings in front and one at each end, and its roof is covered by three hemispherical domes supported below by carved stone pillars. The mosque itself has three arched openings in front and one each at the north and south ends and in the west wall are three richly decorated arched niches. The square of the room is changed into an octagon by arches springing from carved black stone pillars, two on every side. Octagonal turrets project from the four corners of the verandah and the two western corners of the main chamber.

The formation of the verandah or corridor and consequently of two more corner turrets in certain of these mosques, as in the Bara Sonā Masjid at Gaūr, marks a new style in Bengal. The open quadrangle of the Delhi mosques was not suitable to the Bengal climate, and the domed verandah took its place. On grounds of style the mosque at Sura may be dated to the close of the fifteenth century A.D.

THE DARASBĀRĪ MOSQUE AT GAŪR

(SUB-CLASS B)

Half a mile to the south-west of the Kotwali Gate at Gaūr are ruins and a large inscription over 11 feet long, referring to the building of a mosque in A.D. 1470, in the time of the independent sultan Yūsuf Shāh. The traditional name of the site, Darasbārī (colleage) presumably implies that a college was at one time associated with the mosque. The latter is 11½ feet by 67½ feet, and must have been a fairly imposing structure not unlike the Sunār Golden Mosque (see below). It has a central nave 16½ feet broad with a row of three pyramidal or barrel-vaulted domes and two side wings, each formerly with nine domes in three rows supported on stone pillars. The domes have disappeared but the walls still stand and the minars are decorated with elaborately moulded brickwork.

THE CHHOTĀ SONĀ MASJID, OR SMALL GOLDEN MOSQUE OF GAŪR

But the most celebrated mosque in East Pakistan is the Chhotā Sonā Masjid or Small Golden Mosque at Fuzzpur Gaūr built by Wālī Moḥammad during the reign of Ḥasan Shāh (A.D. 1493-1519), and so named to distinguish it from the Great Golden Mosque built a few years later five miles away at Ramkūh. Both mosques originally had gilded domes and the latter which is in West Bengal and does not therefore concern us here, was sparingly ornamented with green, blue, white, yellow and orange tiles.

The smaller mosque (pls. XXII and XXI and fig. 19) is an oblong building 82 feet by 52 feet externally and is divided internally into three longitudinal aisles entered by five arched openings from the front. The openings have engaged, two-centred arches, slightly inset to give relief and the façade is further diversified by intermittent string-courses which emphasise the main features. At the four corners are octagonal turrets divided into stages by further string-courses, and the multiple cornice has the usual Bengali convexity

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on all elevations. A brave but somewhat unsightly attempt has been made on the front and back to vary the monotony of the hemispherical domes over the fifteen internal bays by substituting a pyramidal Bengali roof with curved eaves for the central series.

Externally and internally up to the arches and domes the brickwork is completely veneered with stone. The hemispherical domes are carried on pendentives of corbelled brickwork, as at the *Shah Gumbad*. In the south-west corner a bay has been set aside for women, with an upper floor formerly screened by trellis work.

The chief interest of the mosque lies in its rich foliate decoration carved in shallow relief both externally and internally. This decoration is a stone reproduction of the elaborate terracotta ornament characteristic of Bengal and has the appearance of wood carving—even of fluted. It is entertaining and pleasing but is not strong enough to hold its own architecturally. Altogether the building is a patchwork of styles and traditions and lacks cohesion and unity of purpose. It is one of the last efforts of a style which never really succeeded in welding together the robust imitations, traditions of Delhi even though further by the need for large roofs, halls and screen-porches imposed by the local climate and the traditions of elaborate clay ornamentation which are inherited from pre-Islamic Bengal.

MOSQUE AT BAGHA IN RĀJSHĀHI DISTRICT

(Sub-Class D)

At Bagha, now an obscure village in the Sadar sub-division near the Ganges, 25 miles south-east of Rajshahi, stands an old mosque beside a large tank 400 yards in length and 200 yards in breadth. To the east of the tank is a place called *Maldhūmpūr* where lived in the early part of the sixteenth century A.D. one *Amir Bagha* *Bengalūr* *Lashkarī* a *jagirdār* of Patgana *Lashkarpūr* who had received his *jagir* from *Alauddin Husam Shah* (A.D. 1493-1519) an independent sultan of Bengal. The sultan's daughter, *Zeenunissa*, was married of her own choice, to *Hazrat Maulana Shah Nizam Daula* who had recently come as a missionary saint with five disciples from *Bagdad*. For his residence the saint chose the tiger-haunted forest tereabouts which became known as the *Bagha* (from *bagh* meaning a "tiger").

The inscription over the central doorway of the mosque adds that it was built in A.D. 1534-35 by *Amir Musaffar Nizamuddin Nugrat Shah* son of *Alauddin Husam Shah*, doubtless to do honour to the saint.

The reign of *Nugrat* is notable for two invasions: that of the *Mughals* under *Babur* in the west and that of the *Portuguese* in the east. With the *Mughals* the Bengal long temporized, in any case the time was not yet ripe for the *Mughal* annexation of his kingdom. The *Portuguese* were delivered by circumstances and treachery into the hands of *Gauṛ* and into those of his neighbor at *Cuttack*. But the days of independent Bengal were already numbered and the art and architecture which had characterized it for two centuries were now overripe. It may be noted that the *Bagha* saint's grandson, *Shah Aḥmad Wafā* subsequently received a *jagir* from the rebel-prince *Kharrām* (afterwards *Shahjahan*) which was later confirmed by the prince's father, the emperor *Jalāṅṛ* and still continues in the hands of the saint's descendants, who are also *mutawallis* of the mosque.

The building stands in the western half of a raised enclosure, 160 feet square with brick walls and a gateway in the north and south walls. The northern gate has been rebuilt; the southern is a simple oblong structure with octagonal corner turrets, two-centred arch and central dome. On each flank of the opening is a terracotta panel representing a plant issuing from a flower-vase. Within the north-east corner of the enclosure are the graves of the saint and his five disciples together with a few unknown burials.

CHHOTA SONA MASJID GAUR

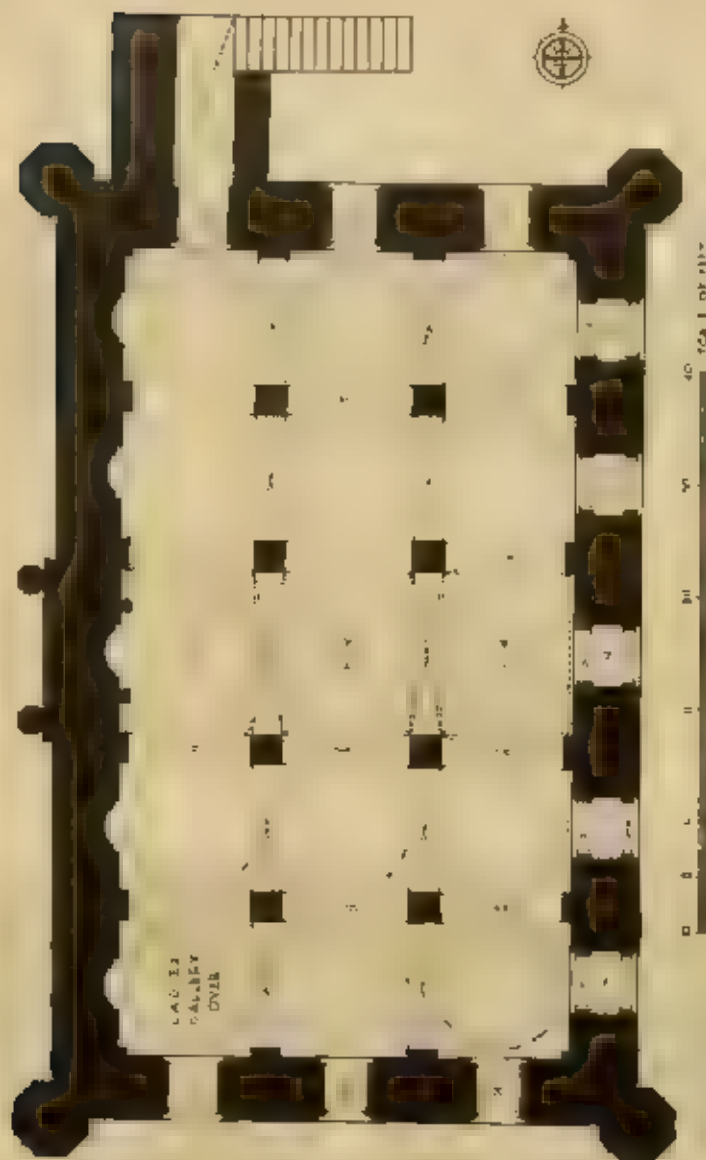


Fig 19 (sketch-plan)

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The mosque itself is an oblong structure 86 feet long externally, with walls 7 feet 4 inches thick. It is of brick save for a basal course of stone, another stone course at the level of the springing of the arches, and eighteen stone pillars and responds in the interior. At the four corners are polygonal turrets with spiral polygonal ridges, and between them the elevations bend upwards in a slightly convex moulded cresting of normal Bengali type. On the eastern façade are five equal openings with two central heads set in panelled walls and the two main panels beside each opening are framed with tendrils and contain an exuberant engraved and florentine arch whence depends a "lamp" which has itself evolved into a fantastic grape-cluster. The whole pattern represents the baroque decadence of the Bengali terracotta craft and its constant repetition on all sides of the building gives the impression of sugary incrustation rather than of architectural ornament.

The interior is divided longitudinally into two aisles of five bays each, separated by the stone pillars already mentioned and formerly crowned by ten equal domes, all of which collapsed in an earthquake in 1897. The central in Lash is flanked on the south (but not on the north) by two subsidiary mihrabs of equal size with it. All three are of terracotta and have weak but elaborate engraved arches carried by ornate octagonal pillars within a paneled and richly encrusted framework. Again we are confronted by the Bengali style at its most exuberant when it has reached a stage beyond which further development is no longer possible. The time was ripe for change.

MOSQUE AT KUSUMBA

(SUB-CLASS D)

Another mosque built at Kusumba in A.D. 1558 by a Hindu convert named Sulaiman, is similar in type to that of Bagha and is the last of the series. Its terracotta panels and mihrabs are a tangle of fluted patterns, which have now lost all restraint other than that imposed by the framework in which they are set. It is the final victory of the jangle over the culture born of the desert.

DARYA SAUDAGAR'S MOSQUE, TIPPERA DISTRICT

(SUB-CLASS C)

In the village of Bata Goad, about 5 miles south-east of Daba, near a steamer station on the river Gohati in Tippera district, stands a mosque which with its highly ornate terracotta work is akin to the fifteenth and early sixteenth century mosques described above. It is traditionally ascribed to one Darya Saudagar, a trader who is said to have come from the west by *darya* or river but is not dated. Allowing for a certain time-lag in this remote region, we may attribute it to the first half or middle of the sixteenth century.

The mosque stands on the bank of a large tank some 800 by 500 feet which is known by the same name. It is a single-domed square structure with sides of 37 feet externally but its ruinous condition renders the former presence of corner turrets uncertain. In the eastern façade are three equal entrances with two-centred arches and the moulded cornice has on all sides the usual Bengali convexity. There are traces of formerly extensive terracotta decoration. The hemispherical dome is carried on squinches with subsidiary pendentives, the squinches being supported on slender brick piers. There are three mihrabs, originally ornate, and arched wall niches flank the single doorway in the north and south sides.

In spite of its poor condition the building is of interest as an outlier of the main series of medieval Bengali mosques.

21. PHASE II: EARLY MOGHUL (A.D. 1575-1612)

WITH the coming of the Moghuls to Bengal great changes took place in the political field. The Afghans, who had previously dominated the scene, were dispersed eastwards and in A.D. 1575 the newcomers were able to establish their headquarters at Tanda near Onâr some 15 miles south-west of the modern town of Murid in West Bengal. But it was not until A.D. 1612 that the Afghans were completely beaten and that Inayat Khan, the Moghul governor, was able to take the final step of transferring the capital to the eastern frontier at Dacca (p. 104). With the completion of the conquest that this event signified dawned a period of peace and prosperity throughout Bengal.

The struggle between the Moghuls and the Afghans may thus be described as the first or preliminary phase of the Moghul history of East Pakistan. It was a period of active military movement, of the establishment of successive military centres and outposts on both sides, with little leisure for elaborate building. The arch centre was at Cantt. Bahar in Pabna district, which was the stronghold of Masum Khan, known a formidable Afghan leader. There a ruined mosque still exists which was erected by him in A.D. 1582, though from the preserved portion it is difficult to comment on its architecture. There are three arched entrances on the east face, the central arch slightly larger than the others. The central mihrab is richly decorated, its arch being engrafted below floriate ornament in the normal pre-Moghul style. Although strictly later than the advent of the Moghuls, it is essentially a non-Moghul work, save that the use of three graded arches anticipates the Persian fashion which the Moghuls introduced.

One of the military outposts of the Moghuls was at Shêrpûr Murcha on the west bank of the Karatoya in Bogra district. In A.D. 1596 Râjâ Mansingh, the then Moghul governor of Bengal, constructed here a mud fort and named the place Salimnagar after prince Salim (afterwards Jhaugir). About a mile south of this town still stand three mosques in a dilapidated condition.

One of the mosques is known as the Kherua Masjid and is situated about 100 yards south-east of the tomb of a locally popular saint, Bande Sahib. It was built in A.D. 1582 by Inayat Khan Qasbi. Like the mosques of the earlier period, it is rectangular in plan with octagonal turrets (now incomplete) at the four corners and with a convex Bengal cornice on all the elevations. There are three equal arched openings on the eastern face and one each on the north and the south, all the arches being of two-centred form. Each opening is framed within a rectangular panel. On either side of the doorway on the east face is a rectangular panel of the same height containing two paneled two-centred arches, one above the other. The upper panel on either side of the central doorway contains a stone tablet inscription. On removal it has been found that one of these inscriptions has been cut on the back of a stone bearing a high relief of Shiva (the god). An additional rectangular panel containing horizontal rows of moulded bands and rosettes is inserted between the stone tablets and the flanking doorways. Farther up the wall, below the curved cornice, runs a row of arched panels of smaller size.

The mosque measures externally 57 feet long by 24½ feet wide, with walls 6 feet thick. It is divided internally into three equal square bays covered by domes, which are carried on characteristic Bengali corbelled-brick pendentives. In the western wall are three mihrabs each framed within a rectangular panel, with a battlemented coping above the central niche. The spandrels of the arches are decorated with rosettes and floral design, and the arches

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are bordered by engraved decoration. Two smaller *tuqs* or niches are provided on either side of the doorways in the north and south walls.

Here, as at Chhatmohar, is the beginning of the three-bay façade which became common in the Moghul period in East Pakistan. Each bay is covered by a hemispherical dome resting on side-walls and arch—the arch springing directly from the side-walls without responds. The previous use of pular responds as a support for the arch has been discarded.

Other buildings of similar transitional style occur in the Bogra district and elsewhere but are of later date and are therefore, referred to the next chapter.

22. PHASE III. LATER MOGHUL (A.D. 1612 OR LATER-1707)

BY far the largest concentration of developed Moghul architecture in East Pakistan is that of the Dacca district, where a succession of viceroys related to, or intimates of, the imperial house built extensively in what may be described as an Imperial Style. In other less metropolitan districts, such as Bogra and Mymensingh, local Bengali traits survived with some vigour until the middle of the seventeenth century and occasionally recurred at considerably later dates.

A. THE DACCA DISTRICT

IDGĀH NEAR DACCA

About 1½ miles north-east of the municipal limit of Dacca are the remains of an *idgāh*, an roofed place of assembly for prayer at certain festivals or *urs*, of plastered brickwork built as the inscription over the mihrab records in A.D. 1640, by Mir Abd. Qasim who was the dewan of the unfortunate prince Shāh Shujā, when viceroy of Bengal. Although of slight importance architecturally, the building is of interest as one of the earliest surviving dated monuments of Dacca.

The *idgāh* stands on a slightly raised platform some 345 by 135 feet, round which on the north-east and south sides are remains of a parapet wall said formerly to have been 6 feet high. The screen wall on the west side, about 15 feet high, contains a central semi-octagonal mihrab with a four-centred stilted arch decorated with multiple cusping applied to the outer face and flanked on each side by a multi-cusped panel. On each side of the mihrab three wall arched or subsidiary *nahrabs* with stilted four-centred heads survive but the wall still 65 feet long is incomplete at both ends. Above the central mihrab it is crowned by a battlemented cresting.

THE BARĀ KATRĀ

Close to the north bank of the river at the head of the famous market-place called the *Chand stān* the remains of a plastered brick structure known as the Barā Katra (to distinguish it from the (modernized) fragments of the *Chhīlā Katra* a short distance away), built according to an inscription now destroyed in A.D. 1644 by Mir A'āl Qasim, already mentioned as dewan during the viceroyalty of prince Shāh Shujā. The Mir is stated to have endowed it 'with twenty two shops attached to it,' and whatever its original purpose may have been, it appears to have been used as a caravanserai.

The surviving portion consists of the river-frontage about 200 feet long, with a lofty central gateway, octagonal corner-towers, and a part of the adjacent east and west walling.

PHASE III. LATER MOGHUL (A.D. 1612 OR LATER-1707)

Between the gate and the corners, on each side, were five further openings, but modern alterations and accretions obscure the arrangement in detail. The gateway projects as of three stages, an arch panelled. The main gate-chamber has a dome decorated with plaster-work and is entered front and rear through archways with four-centred heads under high arches with half domes bearing remains of similar network. Between the entrance-archway and the main chamber are small guardrooms on each side and a subsidiary entrance-archway. The interiors of all the arches is ornamented with network and other fragments of decoration are preserved here and there in the decayed plasterwork. The wall panels which break the surface of the building show a variety of forms including plain four-centred and multi-cusped arches together with the flat arch which is a distinctive feature of mid and late seventeenth-century work hereabouts. The parapet has a high battlement i.e. is decorated with ornaments, unpierced merlons.

The fragment although a few vestiges of such structures as a not unimposing relic of the general architecture of the period and is earlier in date than most of the remaining monuments of the Dacca district.

THE LĀLBĀGH FORT

Towards the north-western end of the old town are the remains of a brickwork fort known tentatively as 'Fort Aurangzād' or the 'Lāl-bāgh Fort' begun in A.D. 1678 by prince Moparrāz Āzāz, then son of the emperor Aurangzēb during his viceroyalty at Dacca, but left unfinished owing to his sudden departure in 1681. The fort has suffered in the war against the Mahrattas. The finished portions consisted of the main north and south gates which were presumably intended to be central on plan together with the wall (about 2,000 feet long) and bastions between the south gate and the south-western corner and most of the western side. Between the north gate and the north-western corner is a third smaller gate, but there is no evidence that the intervening wall was ever begun on this side. The south-western corner formerly washed by the river Barāghanga is separated by a stretch of marshy low land from the present bank.

It was apparently intended to reinforce the brick defensive wall in part by an internal bank which exists to the east of the south-western corner and contains cisterns or store-rooms entered by a doorway under a half-dome ornamented with plaster network. Further east, remains of arched brick railings with plastered panel-decoration occupy the line of the bank up to the south gateway. Between the latter and the south-west corner are five semi-circular bastions filled with earth to rampart level. The bastion next to the gateway is of exceptional size with an external gun platform 13 feet wide at that level above the platform the tower shines to normal size, with walls 3 feet 9 inches thick, a high four-centred and a tilted doorway in each face and panel-decoration. The south-western corner-tower has an equivalent external platform but only 1 foot 9 inches wide. All the bastions have an ornamental battlemented string-course at rampart level.

The principal architectural feature is the south gate which is a three-staged structure with a four-centred archway framed in stone-work under a (fragmentary) brick half-dome bearing traces of plastered net pattern. Of the three finishing stages the lowest on each side has a four-centred half-domed niche with similar decoration whilst the upper two are fronted by a three-sided one window in two stages terminating in a half-dome. The windows openings are framed by pillars supporting masonry brackets. On the inner elevation, the two corners are still crowned by small domed pavilions.

The gateway like other features of the fortifications is that of a palace rather than a fortress but was presumably an adequate defence against the river piracy which formed

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the basis of such intermittent "warfare" as enhanced this frontier region in the seventeenth century (see p. 100). Prolonged siege by an enemy adequately equipped for the purpose was not in contemplation.

THE TOMB OF BĪBĪ PARĪ

Within the unfinished Lā bāgh fort stands a tomb of outstanding interest by reason alike of its materials and its construction. In a land of almost monotonous red loess this tomb is built throughout of stone—black basalt from lava in Bihar, grey sandstone from Chunar in U.P. and marble from distant Rajputana. These costly materials were assembled by Shāhista Khān, viceroy of Bengal for the mausoleum of his daughter Iran Dūkh, better known by her pet name Bībī Parī ("Lady Parv") to whom it seems to have been dedicated to his predecessor prince Mōhammād Āzam but dated A.D. 1684.

The tomb is square in plan, with three openings on each side under high four-centred arches of which the middle is the largest. At the four angles are octagonal turrets capped by pavilions with *chhatras* or penta and fluted domes. The walls are covered with rectangular panelling. The central burial chamber is about 19 feet square and is surrounded by four intermediate rooms nearly 25 feet by 11 feet and 10 feet by 9 feet, the smaller rooms being at the four corners. The walls of the burial chamber are of white marble paneled with black lines and the floor is patterned with the same materials. The walls of the four adjacent larger rooms are also of inset marble but those of the four corner rooms were formerly veneered with glazed tiles now removed. The colours of the tiles were dark blue, orange, green and purple on a yellow ground with borders of orange and blue flowers on a green ground. In view of the scarcity of tilework in East Pakistan, the loss of this feature within the last fifty or sixty years is particularly regrettable.

But the most remarkable element in the structure is its series of corbelled roofs built Hindu fashion with overlapping layers of basalt, closely simulating timber-work. The roof of the central chamber takes the form of an octagonal pyramid crowned externally with a small polygonal node of construction, eight-sided. The side rooms are roofed in a similar manner of rectangular plans. There is nothing quite like this roof system in Bengal and the presence of an architect from a region of heavy timber architecture somewhere in the north-west may be expected. If the materials were imported from so far afield as they undoubtedly were, there is no reason why the architect should not also have been an importation.

The original doors of the tomb are of sandalwood and are paneled with a square swastika-pattern which may also be of Hindu derivation but is equally akin to a Chinese motif and Chinese motifs, received by way of Persia, are of not infrequent occurrence in Mughul art.

The gravestone is of white marble and is in three steps, each step carved on the face with a simple flower-pattern in shallow relief.

MOSQUE NEAR BĪBĪ PARĪ'S TOMB

About 50 yards west of Bībī Parī's tomb is a small three-domed mosque (pl. XXII) which is said to have been built by prince M. Bātūr al Āzam in A.D. 1678 when he began the construction of the surrounding Lā bāgh fort. The mosque is set at the back of a low podium and is of oblong plan with octagonal domes, corner turrets. On the main façade the three openings of which the central is the largest, have four-centred heads and are inset below high multi-cusped arches with network half-domes. The walls are paneled

PHASE III. LATER MOGHUL (A.D. 1612 OR LATER-1707)

are surrounded by a battlemented cresting. The domes spring from octagonal battlemented drums and the two smaller ones are slightly bulbous and are fluted with basal leaf pattern. Internally, the three bays are of equal size but the diameter of the lateral domes is reduced by the intervention of half-domes or pendentives, above which the actual dome springs on a further series of pendentives. A variant of this method of reducing the size of lateral domes will be observed at Khan Mohammad Mirḍā's mosque (see below). Constructionally these devices are of interest but they produce an excessive number of odd-shaped spaces which scarcely harmonize into an easy integral design and tend to overstress the structural problems.

THE MOSQUE AND TOMB OF HĀJĪ KHWĀJA SHĀHBĀZ

About half a mile north of the city are the small mosque and tomb of plastered brickwork built as a memorial record in A.D. 1679 by Hājī Khwāja Shāhbāz a merchant prince of Dacca during the viceroyalty of prince Motāḥḥed Alam. The mosque has octagonal corner turrets and intermediate plaster turrets and the usual three-arched openings on the main façade, the central opening larger than the others and set in a slightly projecting bay. The walls are paneled and the panels in some cases include the flat-arched recess characteristic of this period. Internally the three square bays are divided by two multi-cusped and four central arches and are roofed by domes carried on squinches. There are three niches with stilted four-centred hemispheres by spear-head cusping the central mihrāb also has three-centred spanners and is flanked by tapering octagonal minarets.

The adjacent tomb is square in plan with domed and paneled octagonal turrets at the corners and a four-centred doorway in each side, those on the north-east and west sides set in slightly projecting bays. The entrances stand within larger multi-cusped arches with half-domes but that on the northern side has been rebuilt. The southern entrance is flanked by wall panels with multi-cusped niches with a sunk panel with a convex Bengali top and opened into a gabled chamber outside the main plan. The battlemented cresting normal at this period is carried round the building and the turrets and is repeated internally round the base of the dome above a band of arabesque pattern. The low dome is carried on squinches, the walls are paneled. The tomb is of no special distinction but like the mosque is representative of the average Bengali style of the time of Aurangzīb.

KHĀN MOHAMMAD MIRḌĪA'S MOSQUE

To the north-west of the Lalbagh fort is a brick mosque built in A.D. 1706 by Khān Mohammad Mirḍā an officer of the government on the order of Qazī Ibrahim the head qāzī or magistrate of the city. It stands on a raised platform 16½ feet high, approached by 26 steps and the same platform accommodates a *hujra*, an open-roofed hall with a side room on both flanks. The arches of the *hujra* are multi-cusped, and above them is a *chogga*, or pent.

The mosque is paneled and has tall octagonal minarets with fluted domes at the main corners, now lesser minaret pilasters emphasize the principal features of the design. A battlemented cresting runs round the building. Of the three multi-cusped openings on the main façade the central is larger than the others, and the dome above it is of proportionate size. The domes resemble those of the mosque near Bīrī Parī's tomb (above) springing from octagonal drums with battlemented crestings. Internally the side domes are reduced in size by being carried on half-vaults with intermediate pendentives (see

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above) There are three minarab under multi-cusped arches. In brief the building incorporates without special distinction most of the traits characteristic of the sub-Mughal architecture of East Bengal in the latter part of the seventeenth century.

THE SATGI MRAJ MOSQUE NEAR DACCÁ

Near the village of Jafarabad, about 2 miles north-west of the Municipal limit of Dacca, stands a mosque which well illustrates the development of the provincial Mughal style in the latter part of the seventeenth or beginning of the eighteenth century. It is said, though without substantial authority, to have been built by Shaista Khan, who became Governor of Bengal in A.D. 1666 and finally re-acquiesced office in A.D. 1689.

The mosque stands on a levelled platform at the edge of a low plateau which rises to a height of 15 feet above the adjacent flood-plain. It is an oblong structure 68 by 27 feet externally with low octagonal towers 12 feet wide instead of the usual minars at the four corners. These towers are of two storeys divided and surmounted by petals or *chhogas* and are crowned by domes with lotus finials. The main façade has three entrances with four centred arches, the middle entrance slightly larger than the others, all under higher arches with angular half-domes. The central figure arch is multi-cusped, whilst the flanking figs arches have cusped ornament applied to their outer faces. The central opening is set in a slightly projecting bay bordered by circular ornamental minars and the whole façade is panelled with niches. It is topped by a battlemented cresting made of blue enamel of which tiny fragments remain, and a similar cresting caps the two stages of the corner towers. The three main domes which, with the four corner ones over the towers, gave the name (seven domed) to the building have a basal course of curved petals or merlons and terminate in lotus finials. The central dome is larger than its fellows.

Internally the domes are carried on pendentives and, as externally, have a basal course of "petals". The arches of the three minars are ornamented with applied cusplings.

IDRÁKPŪR FORT

At Idrakpūr, a locality of the town of Munshagan, 15 miles south-east of Dacca, are the half-buried remains of a brick fort built in A.D. 1660 by Mir Juma Mughal governor of Bengal as an outpost to Dacca against Mughal and Portuguese pirates. The fort is an oblong enclosure some 270 by 240 feet with a small featureless gate in the northern side and a circular bastion at each corner. The bastions are solid to rampart level, above which they are carried up as parapets liberally pierced for musketry. But the special feature of the fort is a huge solid platform or artim circular with a diameter of 100 feet and a height of upwards of 30 feet, approached by steps across the eastern wall of the main enclosure and itself situated in an annexe 130 feet wide with a small bastion at the north-east corner. A narrow staircase ascends to the annexe from the summit of the platform towards the south. Beside the foot of the main staircase to the platform is a small domed store-chamber.

The great platform was excellently designed to mount cannon of considerable calibre, and to serve in fact as a sort of Martello tower. It may be of Portuguese inspiration. Portuguese adventurers are known to have been in the Mughal service at this time (p. 106).

Two other small outposts of this kind with similar artillery platforms were built about the same period for river-control in the Dacca district. One of these much overgrown, may be seen at Khurpūr or Hajiganj, two miles north of Narayanganj, by the west

PHASE III: LATER MOGHUL (A.D. 1612 OR LATER-1707)

bank of the Janghva river. It is a hexagonal enclosure with circular corner bastions spirally pierced for musketry, a simple main entrance approached by steps on the north and a postern on the south, and a large square gun platform towards the river. The third of the series is on the east bank of the Janghva a mile below Narayanganj and is called the fort of Sonakundā. This has a similar gun platform, openings for musketry and main and postern entrances.

The three forts form an interesting group of seventeenth-century coastguard works and deserve detailed publication.

PAGLA BRIDGE

About 5 miles north-east of Dacca beside the Narayanganj road can be seen the remains of a brick bridge which spanned a feeder of the Buriganga river close to its junction with the latter. It is said to have been built by Mir Jumla, viceroy of Bengal in A.D. 1659-63 and is consistent with the style of that period. It is of plastered brickwork, and originally comprised three open four-centred arches flanked at each end by a smaller closed arch, above which the road continued in a steep camber. There are rounded cutwaters on both sides, capped by turret-like refuges, and on each side at both ends are octagonal towers with arched openings below *chajjas* or pents above which are flat fluted domes and cylindrical cranes. The building is now encumbered by modern structures and is at best a romantic ruin, but in its prime it must have been an effective and attractive piece of engineering.

B. OTHER DISTRICTS

In the Bogra district a little distance west of the tomb of Banda Sahib at Sherpur Mureha (p. 121) is a mosque known locally as the Tolar Masjid, built according to an inscription formerly over the central entrance by a certain Mun'azzam Khan in A.D. 1632. It retains elements of the pre-Mughul style in its octagonal corner-turrets (now incomplete) and its convex Bengali cornice. It is of three bays with corresponding entrances, mihrabs and mahabads, but the central entrance as well as the central mahrab is here emphasized by flanking pilaster-minars which, though common in Firuzian mosques at Dacca, now occur for the first time in East Pakistan. They were later to appear regularly in the Mughul mosques at Dacca and elsewhere. The building thus, save in respect of date, belongs stylistically to our Phase II.

So also does another small mosque in the vicinity close to the village of Khôndkar Tolā, to the south-west of the Kherua Masjid (p. 12). This mosque, known as the Bibi Masjid, was likewise erected during the reign of Shah Jahān (second quarter of the seventeenth century), but its building inscription is now missing. It is only 15 feet square internally and has a single arched entrance on each of the east, north and south sides, framed within a rectangular panel.

At the four corners are the remains of octagonal turrets, between which the cornice shows a pronounced convex Bengali curve on all elevations. The roof is a single dome carried on corbelled brick pendentives of the medieval Bengali type. In the west wall are no fewer than three mihrabs. As a whole the building is a pre-Mughul building—long after its proper time.

In the Mymensinga district, at Agratentia, is yet another seventeenth-century mosque with pre-Mughul traits. It is oblong in plan, with octagonal corner-turrets, a single squat dome, and three squat arched entrances on the eastern side. The cornice has a pronounced Bengali convexity but the walls project above it to a level top which, in developed Mughul work, was to bear a battlemented cresting. The exterior has elaborate terracotta ornamentation.

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In the same village is another mosque, known as the Mosque of Shih Mohammat, which in its external decoration recalls the Laccas mosques. It is oblong on plan, with octagonal corner-turrets crowned by pavilions with flat fluted domes. Externally the walls have panels with arches in rectangular frames. The main façade has three arched openings with "Shah-jarani" cusplings; the central opening flanked by octagonal pilaster-munars carrying pinnacles (*guldastas*). The walls have a battlemented cresting, and a similar cresting girdles the drum of the single dome. Stylistically, the mosque may be ascribed to the end of the seventeenth or beginning of the eighteenth century.

To the same general date may be ascribed the so-called "Aurangzeb's Mosque" at Masripur, in the same district. It is a simple building, square on plan, with octagonal corner-turrets crowned by pavilions, and is roofed by a single dome, the cylindrical drum of which has a battlemented cresting. A similar horizontal-cresting caps the walls, but under it the panelled decoration ends beneath a convex upper border which retains a memory of the curved Bengali cornice. There is a single small arched opening in the east, north and south sides.

Lastly at Shujaganj immediately west of the river Gomati in the heart of Comilla, is a mosque which in spite of modern additions, is still essentially a Mughal building of the third quarter of the seventeenth century. It is recorded to have been erected by one Govinda Manikya, a raja of Tripura state in memory of his friendship with prince Shah Shuja', Aurangzeb's rival brother, who fled to this part in A.D. 1659 after his defeat by Aurangzeb's general Mir Jumla.

The original building was oblong some 55 feet by 20 feet externally, with octagonal turrets at the four corners and on the main façade, three four-centred arches—the central larger than the others and set in a projecting bay flanked by pilaster-munarets. The wall-face is extensively paneled under a horizontal moulded cornice below a battlemented parapet. There are three domes, the central larger than the others, with battlemented basal string-courses both externally and internally and lotus- and *acorn*-finials. They are carried on pendentives. The mihrab is flanked, on each side by a wall-arch or subsidiary mihrab.

The mosque is a simple but characteristic example of the provincial Mughal style of the period.

23. HINDU REMAINS OF THE MUSLIM PERIOD

AFTER the Muslim invasion of c. A.D. 1200, Hinduism survived here and there in East Bengal not only beyond the reach of Islam but even in its midst. The strong personality of the country and its capacity to reconcile new elements with its traditional culture have more than once been emphasized in the preceding pages and there is no better illustration of this than the existence today of temples of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries in Muslim majority districts such as Panna, Faridpur and Bakerganj. These temples show the influence of Muslim building-design just as, on the other side of the sub-continent, the temples of Goa show the influence of Christian (Portuguese) building-design. But they show also the overwhelming influence of the local genius and architecturally they may be described as pre-eminently neither Muslim nor Hindu but *Bengali*. They deserve a careful study and full illustration which cannot be accorded to them here, though two or three examples will be cited presently.

HINDU REMAINS OF THE MUSLIM PERIOD

In the north and north-east of the province there is an even wider field for study in the non-Muslim context. East of the river *Kartavya* in Rangpur and the neighbouring districts as far as Kanchpur, is a region which may legitimately be regarded as a westward prolongation of Assam rather than as an integral part of Bengal. It was ruled in and before Muslim times by a number of local kings whose power, their survival partly to their remoteness and partly to a capacity for joint action in a crisis. In the fifteenth century it was dominated by the Tlaket-Burman Khen dynasty, and includes a considerable foreign element in its make-up. This dynasty served as a sort of buffer between the Armies of Assam and Muslim Bengal and may have been responsible for the construction of some of a number of unclassified fortifications of the region, others of them may be of earlier origin. Others again may be of even later date when the Ahoms were thrusting westwards. Some of them were certainly in an effective condition when the Mughal army of Islam Khan invaded the country in 1613 or that of Mir Jumla in 1661-2. At present no precise information is available as regard to any of them. A hasty preliminary examination of some of them was undertaken by the Archaeological Survey of India in 1924, and a summary account appears in the Survey's Annual Report for 1924-25. The fortifications are situated at (former) river crossings. One of them, at Kartakaur in the Gauthi-Bhadracharya division of the Rangpur district has three different parts with long curbs which are still fairly good in size and height and are separated one from the other by four broad moats, most of which retain water even in the driest season. A distinctive characteristic of this mass of fortifications is the projection of a steep wall rising along a straight garden wall project at right angles from the projecting circumference. In the interior of the ring of ramparts there is what may well be said to be several kinds of religious architecture or temples. The core of the present exterior wall shows no vestige of such a construction, a feet or thick masonry wall 15 feet to 20 feet in height. At a distance of nearly a mile from the red-up moats there is a large mound about 50 feet in height which still shows a *dhargah* or *scaph* built under the reign of Sultan Muhsin Shah of Bengal (A.D. 1489-1500). The mound appears to contain the remains of an ancient temple destroyed by the Muslims and converted into a mosque and a *dhargah*.

Four miles north of Kartakaur is the village of Heopur. One high and two low mounds in the village still indicate the position of the fortification structures. The village is now inhabited by adherents from Chota Nagpur and a few Muslims. The latter indicate the time of the fortification. Darga was reconstructed from the top of the highest mound some years ago. To the north-east of these mounds are several others.

Another of these fortification sites lies on the bank of the river *Tarna*, a tributary of the *Dharna*, in the southern part of Cooch Bihar State and therefore, its own territory. It is described traditionally as the Khen. A third of vast size is the fortification in the Patna district of Jajpur in (now Dinajpur) district. Apart from outworks of considerable extent the remains consist of three roughly oblong enclosures, the widest the third. The outermost is $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from north to south and about 1 mile wide and is surrounded by a ditch and a rampart or in places two ramparts apparently of earth. The middle enclosure is $\frac{1}{2}$ miles from north to south and appears to have had a brick outer wall. Within it is a further brick wall and enclosure half a mile long with a large tank that is open to the east in corner. The only other remaining structural evidences are a few small groups of bricks, a few of the buildings were ditchless, cutches and thatch.

Repeating this, we find an example of a different type of fortification, one which, though necessary country between two natural obstacles and, even if it had not used enclose an area is

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known to archaeologists as a "near" work. "Between the Karatoya and the Teesta lies a fine rampart with a fosse in front. It has been pierced in several places for the passage of District Board roads. It still exists to the south-west of the modern town of Rangpur. According to local information, this rampart now forms the boundary between the Pargannas of Sanyasurakanni and Batasa, of the Rangpur District. On examination it was found to be a high mud wall a hundred feet in thickness, generally 30 to 40 feet in height above the cultivated fields at the back and 40 to 60 feet from the bottom of the fosse or moat in front of it. The existence of the fosse to the south and south-east indicates that the wall was built by the people of north-eastern India against aggression from Bengal or the south-west. The fosse or moat is cultivated in many places and does not contain water during the winter, but the top of the rampart is always covered with jungle and being high land is not much in demand for cultivation. The Gazetteer wrongly describes this rampart as extending from the Karatoya to the river Brahmaputra. It is well known that before 1787 the Teesta followed a different course and joined the Atul instead of joining the Brahmaputra. The wall belongs to an age when the Teesta did not flow along its present bed. So far as it has been surveyed it seems to have extended from the old bed of river Manas, marked Mara-manas in survey maps, to the Karatoya."

A comparable cross-country fortification with bastions has recently been detected between the Hrazmaputra and a neighbouring stream west of Musabar in Assam, while it is presumably the work of the Ahoms. In a country so seamed with rivers such a defence has an obvious appropriateness, but linear works do not seem to be at all common in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

We now return to the temples referred to in the opening paragraph of this chapter. These are of two main kinds: (a) of the spire-like form, generally akin to the North Indian temple-type, and (b) imitations of indigenous huts of bamboo and reeds. This type (a) is represented within the time-limit of this book, and three examples will be cited.

(i) JAGANNATH TEMPLE AT HANDIAL, PABNA DISTRICT

In the village of Handial, to the north-west of the Chittagong Thana in Pabna district, is a temple which is recorded by inscription to have been repaired at a date equivalent to A.D. 1590. It is square on plan with a pyramidal spire or *shikhara* topped by a small. The western facade is richly decorated with carved bricks; the doorway has a two-centred engrailed arch of Masam pattern with lens *chakras* and floral patterns in the span arches and a rectangular framework painted with rosettes and sun and moon figures. Inside is a wooden statue of Jagannath.

(ii) MATH AT KODLA, KHULNA DISTRICT

About $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Jatspur station on the Khulna Bagmati railway is a *math* or contemplative monastery, built according to a fragmentary inscription in Bengali lettering of the sixteenth century by a certain Brahma and dedicated to Taraka or the "saviour" probably Brahma. It is 10½ feet square on plan, with a convex *shikhara* (now unimportant), and is ribbed horizontally by moldings which, combined with vertical variations in the surface, pleasantly mitigate the severity of the general lines. The doorway and on the north face a doorway are of Masam pattern, with engraved arches and richly carved terracotta surround.

(a) DEOL OR TEMPLE AT MATHURAPŪR, FARIDPŪR DISTRICT

This temple is similar to the Kollā *mab* but is twelve-sided on plan, with a basal diameter of 12½ feet, and with openings of Masam type on the south and west. The convex *kikhara* survives to a height of 70 feet. The wide exterior, save for the longways, is ribbed horizontally with decorated brick moldings, between which the friezes bear rural scenes, *kirtimukhas* (honour marks), legripes, and scenes from the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyana*. The effect is not a bad one even if the general design is somewhat and.

RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

THIS outline of the archaeology of Pakistan has, at best, been a broken one. There are great gaps in our knowledge which it is a task of Pakistan scholars to fill, and the task is one in which Pakistan undoubtedly invites the co-operation of foreign scholars. Whatever boundaries may be imposed by economic or social factors, science knows no frontier, and it seems the invaders from all countries the gates of Pakistan are widely open.

The gaps in our knowledge are of two main kinds. First, the major events in our story have been inadequately related to one another. They are episodic. Evidence of significant continuity has often been lacking. The most that can be done at present is to recognize a certain rhythm or at least repetition in terms of geography. Time and again the arterial route of the Indus has lured raiders or invaders from the Arabian sea. Invaders from Phoenicia and Alexandria have come that way to meet the caravans of High Asia. Centuries earlier, they may be that oceanic ships passed that way from the prehistoric cities of the Indus to the prehistoric cities of Susa, as later, by sea, to the walls of Babylon. Arabs have come that way to win eternal bliss and temporal benefit, Sind and the Punjab. Or again, the passes of Baluchistan and the western Himalayas have age after age borne prehistoric villages. Turkoman caravans, Aryan, Greek, Afghan, Moghul and Iranian invaders along the few faint channels which nature has cut between the plateau and the plain. Since, if these intruders have lingered in the great valley of the Indus at its tributaries, others have passed on, onwards into the expanse of North India to be absorbed ultimately in a greater vastness than human effort could create, as considerable rivers, the Gomutra, the Yamuna, the Ganges flow steadily for a while and then vanish through mutation in the landward Asiatic landscape. And, from time to time the peninsular has swung the other way. Later, rising Mauryas and Guptas from the Ganges valley have thrust westward towards the Hindu Kush, and, as the great wall has proved a more than just a no-man's land of Asia. But on the whole these invasions have not made a trace in Western Pakistan. Not that courage was innately lacking. To maintain the prehistoric valour of the Hadda defenders of Sind in the eighth century A.D. would be to undertake the achievement of that Arab conqueror. On occasion, well as the Hadda warriors fought well. Save, however, under the rare stimulus of imperialism, but he had no great concern with the lands which lay towards the seas and the desert. He suffered no lack, hunger, in his own fertile plains, his realm was not of the proselytizing sort and, well, as a man of commerce and an improverative colonizer, he looked at it as he turned to look eastward to rich, fertile countries comparable with his own.

Thus it may be interpolated, Western Pakistan has received mostly from the north and west, and has received constantly from those directions. In that last word fact is deeply rooted the individuality which has now expressed itself politically.

But that ultimate evolution lies outside our survey and our present point, which is the apparent interrelation and discontinuity of the chapters of the story of Pakistan in the past. This as in all such cases is attributable in part to the congenital and mechanical opportunity of the human mind. If, however, as some insist, intent upon a methodical causality, we beat the this factor and seek a reasoned sequence, we are confronted at once with the need for a far

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wider canvas than has hitherto been available on which to paint our picture. Nothing so more impressive in the history of Asia than its *monarchy*, and the vast spaces covered by the one *hugely* large concentrations of people and on the other by small but determined and disruptive bands. The reasons behind this movement - climatic, geographical, social - need not now be discussed but the fact remains. History has been reduced to a hand-grip. Attempts which have been made to correlate early historic events in Western Europe with almost synchronous happenings in Central or even Eastern Asia are not altogether fantastic. It is certain that such correlation is essential to the coherent understanding of the history and archaeology of an integral part of Asia such as Western Pakistan. To achieve this, two things are necessary: an unrestricted perspective and above all a far more extensive and detailed study of the archaeological material than has yet been attempted. Many years of hard field work and careful mapping lie ahead both in Pakistan and in the adjacent regions of Asia before the historical Personality of Western Pakistan can be adequately comprehended.

East Pakistan presents a different and in some sense a simpler problem. Cut off by climate and a vast and intricate river system it received very intermittently and, until Moghuls came at any rate, developed largely in isolation. What West Pakistan remained a thoroughfare or "reluctant pet" of rulers, East Pakistan deep in its exclusive countryside, retained its own independence from age to age with relatively minor adjustments. It remained essentially and obstinately provincial and therein lies its special interest and its charm. Our difficulty does not there arise.

The second gap in our knowledge is in some measure of another kind. Our brief record has largely, though not quite exclusively, concerned itself with Chieftain and State. Particularly in the Islamic period little has been said about the common man - the farmer, the craftsman, the merchant. While emperors were spending lakhs on temples and pleasure-gardens, how lived the ordinary man? What was the aspect of his town, his house, his homestead? Of these important things we know little. Research into them has scarcely begun. Surviving materials may be few and not always spectacular but they are not negligible. In the towns, notably Lahore, are still after many vicissitudes old houses mostly of timber which perpetuate the traditional craftsmanship of the householder and traditional modes of living. It is impossible to fly over Pakistan without realizing the wealth of historic material waiting to counter life that awaits the archaeologist. In some districts the ancient mode seems to continue with little change. In others (as in the neighbourhood of Lahore) it has been regimented, but the old mode not infrequently shows through the new. Here is work to do, and well worth the doing. If some of our young university historians would desert for a while the high-level history of the conventional syllabus and would study the planning, carving and sociology of the little that is left of the dwellings of their own peasant or middle-class forebears, they would be attempting a cultural task of national importance. And since most of these older buildings are of timber and are diminishing annually year by year the task is not one which will suffer delay. This little book ends with a plea for the history and archaeology of the Common Man.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

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APPENDIX B

LIST OF MONUMENTS SCHEDULED UNDER THE ANCIENT MONUMENTS
PRESERVATION ACT

Abbreviations

- A.S.I.R. = Archaeological Survey of India Report by A. Cunningham.
 A.S.I.A.R. = Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports since 1902. Pt. II is referred to, unless otherwise stated.
 J.A.S.B. = Journal of the (Royal) Asiatic Society of Bengal.
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21. Naawan monastery. Taxila. *A.S.I.R.* II 180. *A.S.I.A.R.* 1930-31 (Pt. I), pp. 158-7.
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37. Pipala monastery near Jauliān. Taxila. *A.S.I.A.R.* 1923-24, pp. 61-3. J. Marshall, *Guide* pp. 126-9.
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41. Tarnawa Chitt monastery-site. Taxila. Hazara Dist. *A.S.I.R.* II pp. 147-8.
42. Burj or Tarna monastery-site, near Jauliān, Taxila.
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44. Dams Wali site, near Jankūn, Taxila.
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59. Kaurāśī site at Kaurāśī, Mandiāra, N.W.F.P. *A.S.I.A.R.* 1922-23, p. 101.
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61. Kaurāśī site at Kaurāśī, Mandiāra, N.W.F.P. *A.S.I.A.R.* 1922-23, p. 101.
62. Kaurāśī site at Kaurāśī, Mandiāra, N.W.F.P. *A.S.I.A.R.* 1922-23, p. 101.
63. Kaurāśī site at Kaurāśī, Mandiāra, N.W.F.P. *A.S.I.A.R.* 1922-23, p. 101.
64. Kaurāśī site at Kaurāśī, Mandiāra, N.W.F.P. *A.S.I.A.R.* 1922-23, p. 101.
65. Kaurāśī site at Kaurāśī, Mandiāra, N.W.F.P. *A.S.I.A.R.* 1922-23, p. 101.
66. Kaurāśī site at Kaurāśī, Mandiāra, N.W.F.P. *A.S.I.A.R.* 1922-23, p. 101.
67. Kaurāśī site at Kaurāśī, Mandiāra, N.W.F.P. *A.S.I.A.R.* 1922-23, p. 101.

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73. Buddhist monastery at Mahenjodaro. As preceding.
74. Temple at Mohenjodaro. Larkāna Dist. *Prog. Rep. of the A.S.I. Western Circle*, 1920, p. 78.
75. Monastery at Mahenjodaro. Larkāna Dist. Sura. *A.S.I. & R.* 1925-26, p. 70. *Prog. Rep.*, etc., 1921, p. 65.
76. Buddhist stupa at Mirpur Khas. Thar and Parkar Dist. Sind. H. Cousens, *Ant. of Sind*, pp. 82-97, *Ant. of Prov. of Sind* R. V. Thar and Parkar Dist., pp. 27-32, *A.S.I. & R.* 1909-10, pp. 44, 46, 92, 1910-17 (Pt. I), p. 14; 1927-28, p. 191; 1929-30, p. 116.
77. Temple at Rhodetar near Nagar Parkar. Thar and Parkar Dist. Sind. H. Cousens, *Ant. of Sind*, p. 178, *Gaz.* as above, p. 25.
78. Temple II at Rhodetar. As preceding.
79. Temple IV at Rhodetar. As preceding.
80. Jain temple at Virāva. As preceding.
81. Temple at Virāva, 14 miles N.W. of Virāva. As preceding.
82. Tar Dheri mound near Loran. N. Baluchistan. *A.S.I. & R.* 1927-28, p. 191, A. Cunningham, *Arch. Tour in Afghanistan and N. Baluchistan*, pp. 64-70.
83. Lohar Bān, on the Grand Trunk Road, 5 miles N. of Taxila.
84. Sialkot Bān, west of Grand Trunk Road at Hatti, N.W.F.P.
85. Lohar Bān, west of the old Moghul highway between Hasan Abdal and Attock N.W.F.P. *A.S.I. & R.* 1926-27, p. 230, 1927-28 (Pt. I), p. 5.
86. Moghul tomb at Attock, N.W.F.P.
87. Qutab ud din Aibak's grave at Lahore, W. Punjab. Latif pp. 13-14, *A.S.I. & R.* 1916-17 (Pt. I), p. 3.
88. Rukn-i-Azam's tomb at Multān, W. Punjab. *A.S.I. & R.* V, pp. 139-4. C. J. Rodgers, *Remains of the Past*, etc., pp. 15-16. *A.S.I. & R.* 1901-12 Pt. I, p. 5, J. Marshall, *Indian Archaeology*, *Islamic Period*, pp. 21-2.
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90. Shāh Yusuf's tomb at Multān, W. Punjab. C. J. Rodgers, *Rem. List*, etc., p. 15. J. Marshall as above, Percy Brown as above, p. 21. *Epigraphia Indica* (ed. 1927) p. 78.
91. Tahir Khān Nuhar's tomb at Sitaur. Maximalgarh Dist., W. Punjab. C. J. Rodgers, *Rem. List*, etc., p. 17. *A.S.I. & R.* 1914-15 Pt. I, p. 3. *Ant.*, 1919, Pt. I, p. 3.
92. Tahir Khān Nuhar's mosque. As preceding. *A.S.I. & R.* 1936-37, pp. 9-1.
93. (Included in No. 95 above.)
94. Jain Nuhar's tomb on Makli hill. Tatta. Sind. H. Cousens, *Ant. of Sind*, pp. 14-16, Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture, Islamic Period*, p. 119.
95. Harāmur on Makli hill. Tatta. H. Cousens, *Ant. of Sind*, p. 119.
96. Khatān Khatun's tomb 4 miles S.W. of Tatta. H. Cousens, pp. 122-3, *A.S.I. & R.* 1909-30, p. 111, *Prog. Rep. of A.S.I. Western Circle*, 1919, p. 58.
97. Tomb of a woman on the plain near Mirzā Jān Bee's tomb on Makli hill. Tatta.
98. Tomb of a stone palace N. of Jām Nizāmuddin's tomb on Makli hill. Tatta.
99. Brick enclosure N. of Jām Nizāmuddin's tomb, said to be the grave of the 41. Hāmād Jamālī.
100. Two tombs on the stone palace S.W. of Jām Nizāmuddin's tomb.
101. Mubarak Khān's tomb on Makli hill.
102. Brick building with broken dome N. of Mubarak Khān's tomb.

- 103 Tomb and compound wall of yellow stone S. of Tām Nizām al-Dīn's tomb.
- 104 Tomb and enclosure S.W. of No. 103.
- 105 Tomb and enclosure W. of No. 104.
- 106 Brick dome S. of No. 105.
- 107 Tomb and compound wall of yellow stone S. of No. 106.
- 108 Chaudhūrī or stepped pyramidal grave-house (Landh) and Samrā Kārāh, Dist. Sialk. H. Cousins, *Ant. of Sind* pp. 64-65; *Fraser's Rep. of A.S.I. Researches* 1900, p. 7.
- 109 Mosque with red sandstone pillars at Bhodesar, Thar and Parkar Dist. and H. Cousins, *Ant. of Sind*, p. 67; J. Burgess, *List of the Inscriptions to be kept in the Bombay Presidency Museum*, 1880, p. 220; *Gov. of Prov. of Sind R.V.*, Thar and Parkar Dist., p. 2.
- 110 Walled enclosure containing two domes, one of which is commonly known as that of Lalā Rakhī at Hasan Abād, Attock Dist. N.W.F.P. *A.S.I.A.R.* 11, p. 188; C. J. Rodgers, *Rev. List* etc. p. 4, *A.S.I.A.R.* 1920-21, p. 3; 1921-22, p. 4; 1922-23, pp. 9-10.
- 111 Begmā al-Nūrā, Maghā, Sialk, Attock, N.W.F.P. *A.S.I.A.R.* 1919-20, p. 3; 1920-21, pp. 24-5; 1922-23, p. 23; 1930-34 (Pt. I), p. 18; 1936-7, p. 10.
- 112 Hasan's tomb at Hasan Abād, Attock Dist. N.W.F.P. *A.S.I.A.R.* 1919-20, p. 3; 1920-21, p. 3.
- 113 Maghā, Dist. Attock, N.W.F.P. C. J. Rodgers, *Rev. List* etc. p. 6; *A.S.I.A.R.* 1920-21, p. 120-22; H. N. Wright, *Art of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, 1906, p. xxxi.
- 114 Abū al-Nāsir's tomb at Kōhā Maghāra, Gujranwala Dist. W. Punjab.
- 115 Akbarī Rūf well station, Latif, W. Punjab. C. J. Rodgers, *Rev. List* etc. p. 14; *Punjab Dist. Gaz.* XXV A, Gujrat Dist., p. 15.
- 116 Shāh Mawdūd at Chānōt, Jhang Dist., W. Punjab. C. J. Rodgers, *Rev. List* etc. pp. 12-13, *A.S.I.A.R.* 1922-23, p. 9.
- 117 Shāh Burhān's tomb at Chānōt. As preceding.
- 118 Rūf al-Dīn, Jhang Dist., W. Punjab. C. J. Rodgers, *Rev. List* etc. pp. 7-8; *Punjab Dist. Gaz.* XXVII A, Jhang Dist., pp. 30, 34; *A.S.I.A.R.* 1921-22, p. 4; 1922-23, p. 10; A. Stein, *Arch. Reconstructions in N.W. India and S.E. Iran*, p. 22.
- 119 Abū Mawdūd's tomb and gateway at Lahore, W. Punjab. Latif p. 152, *A.S.I.A.R.* 1916-17 (Pt. I), p. 3; 1923-24, pp. 15-16.
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77. Hindu temple at Maheswarah, Dinajpur Dist. *Descript. List etc.*, 1890a, No. 77, 4 S I 4 B 1903-04, p. 53.
78. Hindu temple at Maheswarah, Dinajpur Dist. *Descript. List etc.*, 1890a, No. 77, 4 S I 4 B 1903-04, p. 53.
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82. Hindu temple at Maheswarah, Dinajpur Dist. *Descript. List etc.*, 1890a, No. 77, 4 S I 4 B 1903-04, p. 53.

83. The Barā Katrā, Dacca. J Taylor *Sketch*, etc. p. 94, Sayid Aulad Hasan, *Notes*, etc. pp. 12-15, *Descript List*, etc. pp. 198-9 No. 5, *A S I A R* 1925-26, p. 196.
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85. Bihā Chharpās-tānā, Dacca. Sayid Aulad Hasan, *Notes*, etc. pp. 28-9, *A S I A R* 1922-23, p. 114.
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93. Sad's mosque at Agrasindur. Mymensingh Dist. *A S I A R* 1918-19 Pt 1), p. 7.
94. Shāh Mohammad's mosque at Agrasindur. Mymensingh Dist.
95. Qutb mosque at Ashitagram. Mymensingh Dist. *A S I A R* 1922-23, p. 64.
96. Aurangzāb's mosque at Māyripurā. Mymensingh Dist.
97. Bādnihāl mosque at Chāmonar. Fātes Dist. *Atlas Akhari* Eng. tr. by N. Blockman, [Calcutta, 1873] I, p. 621.
98. Shāh Shujā's mosque at Comila. Tippera Dist. *Sri Rajamala* (printed by Isan Chandra Bhattacharya) pp. 283-4, K. C. Sinha, *Tripartit Itihās*, pp. 93-4.

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$$| \psi \rangle = \frac{1}{\sqrt{2}} (| \psi_1 \rangle + | \psi_2 \rangle) \quad \text{and} \quad | \phi \rangle = \frac{1}{\sqrt{2}} (| \psi_1 \rangle - | \psi_2 \rangle)$$

1974

Figure 1

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123

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2012 41

Trade with the Kushāns. *Eurasia*, 81ff.

1900-1901

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13. $\frac{1}{2} \ln 2$ or $\ln \sqrt{2}$

1. $\frac{1}{2}$ 2. $\frac{1}{2}$ 3. $\frac{1}{2}$ 4. $\frac{1}{2}$ 5. $\frac{1}{2}$ 6. $\frac{1}{2}$ 7. $\frac{1}{2}$ 8. $\frac{1}{2}$ 9. $\frac{1}{2}$ 10. $\frac{1}{2}$

June 15, 1894.

[illegible][illegible][†] *ibid.* 140–141, 143.

22 5-14 55 4174.6 1.21 119

[illegible][illegible]

Wall, 1961, p. 74, 89.

Water level in the Indian River 136

Mayer, Elmer's *Harvard*, 286[illegible]

33. *Int. J. Zool.* 47: 43-54

Yueh-Chi. 51

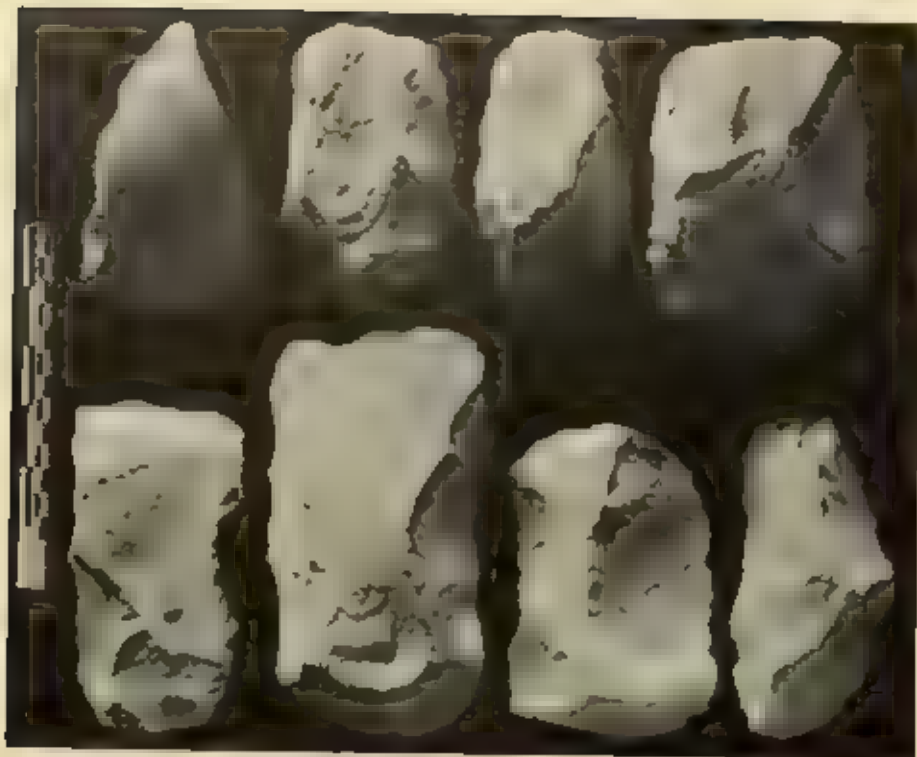
3. *Conf. Globb.* 117

Zehnder, H. 1981.

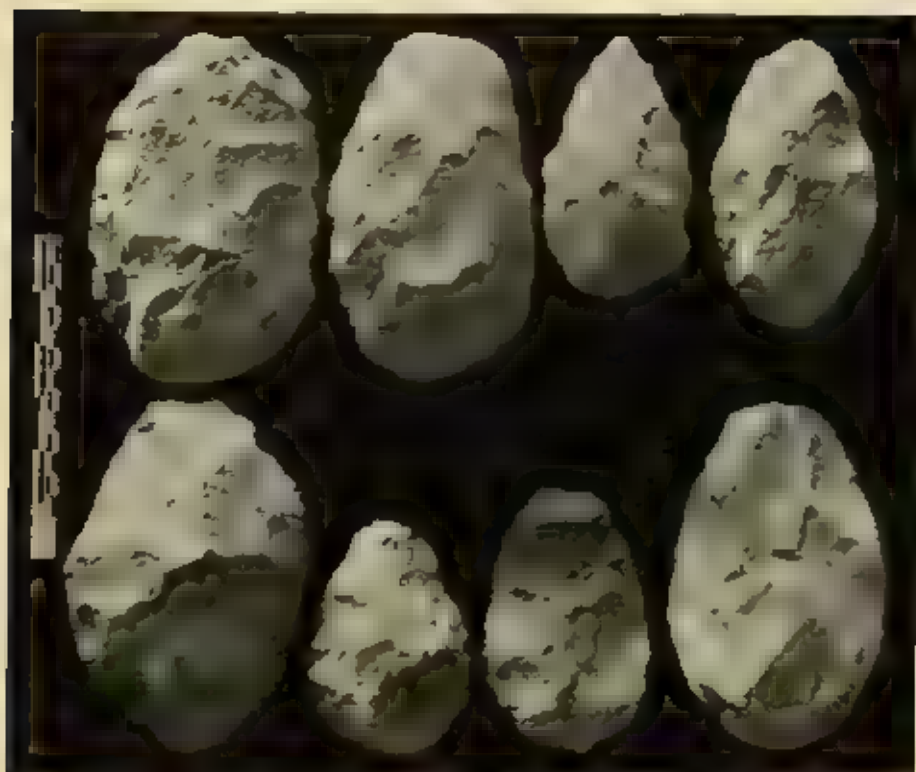
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(a) PALAEO-LITHIC STONE CHOPPERS, RAWALPINDI DISTRICT. See p. 15.



(b) PALAEO-LITHIC STONE HAND AXES, RAWALPINDI DISTRICT. See p. 16.

PLATE III

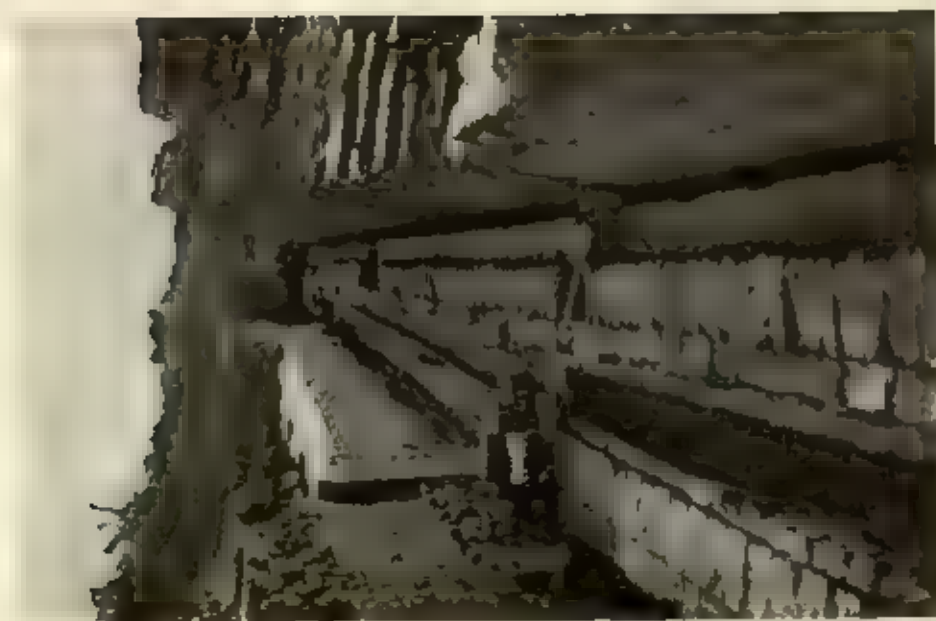




FIG. 1. HEAD OF A WOMAN, FROM THE TOMB OF AN UNIDENTIFIED PERSON, 18th Dynasty, Thebes, Egypt. (See p. 100.)

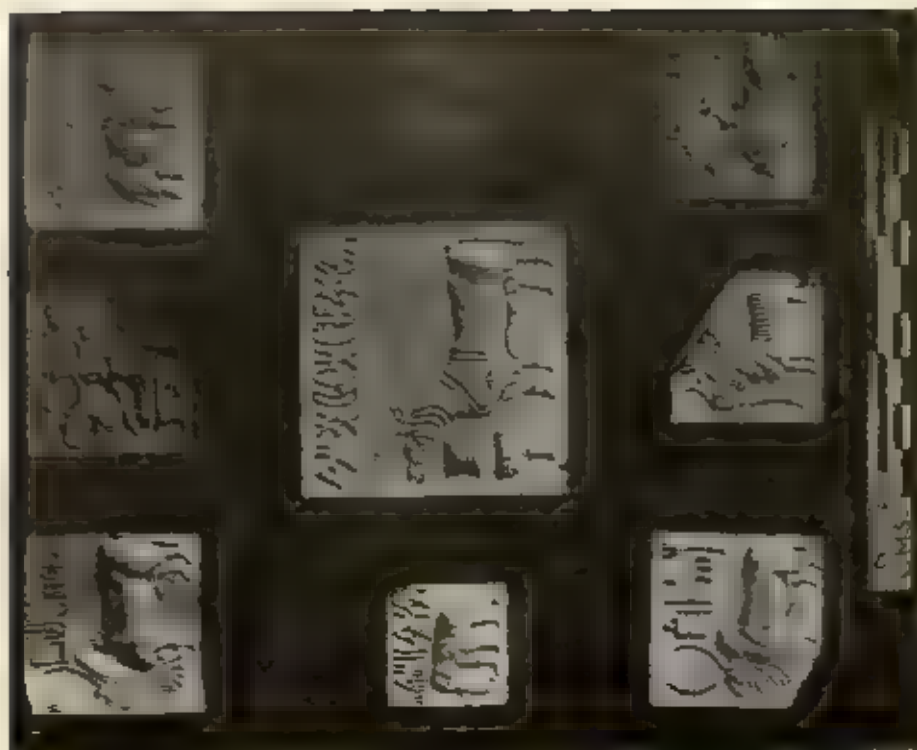
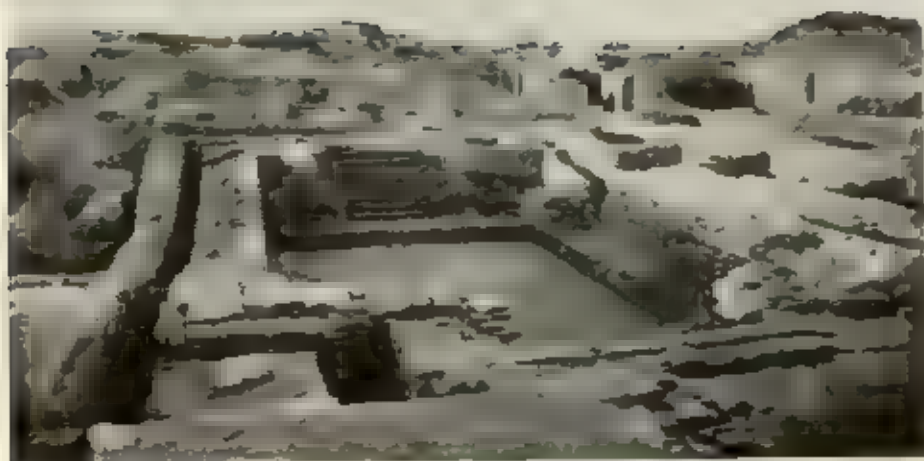
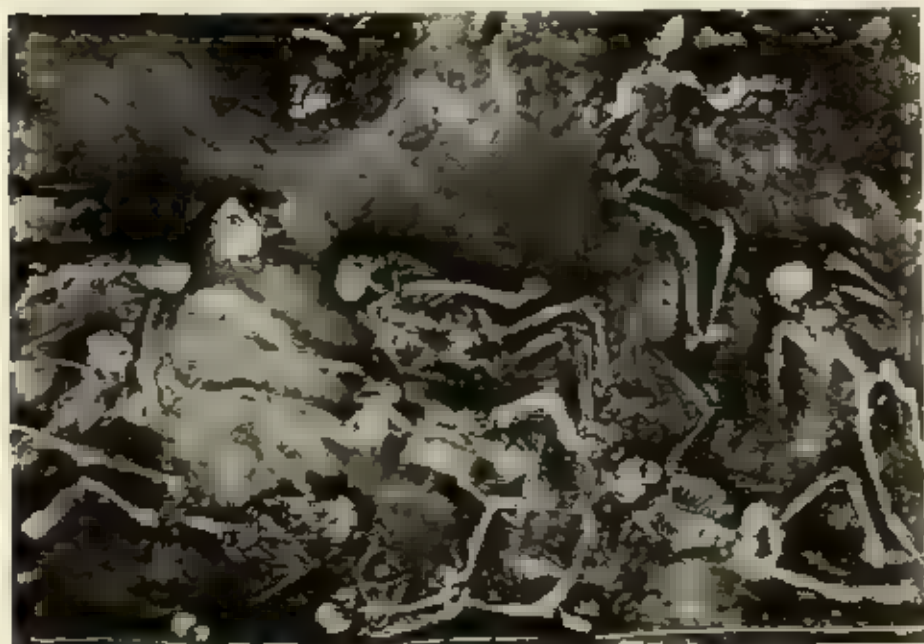


FIG. 2. MODELS OF THE STYLIZED HEADS OF THE GODS, 18th Dynasty, Thebes, Egypt. (See p. 100.)

PLATE V



(a) MOHENJO-DARO THE GREAT BATH ON THE CITADEL. See p. 29



(b) MOHENJO-DARO THE FINAL MASSACRE. See p. 31



TAXI, A. N. (H. K. A. P.) AIR VIEW No. 41
 (see also No. 4)



60. ANA STHA GACHA OF THE BUDDHA
IN THE STUPE IN MEDITION IN THE
JAI-AN MONASTERY
about 1000



61. TAXILA STUPE FROM THE VICINITY OF THE DHARMAKASIA STUPE
About the 2nd century A.D.
See p. 104

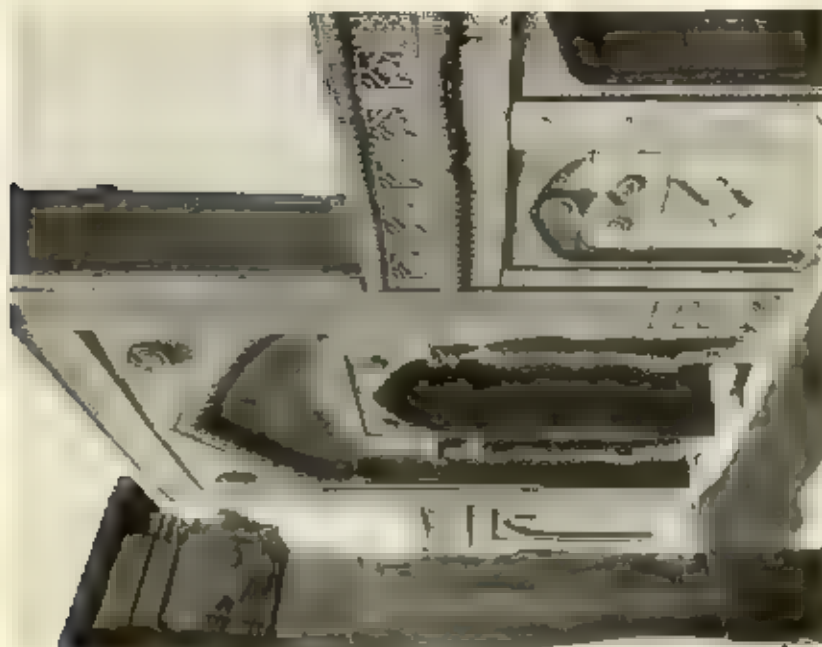


(6) GATEWAY TO THE TEMPLE OF THE GODDESS
AT NANTHANG, NEAR SHAN STATE

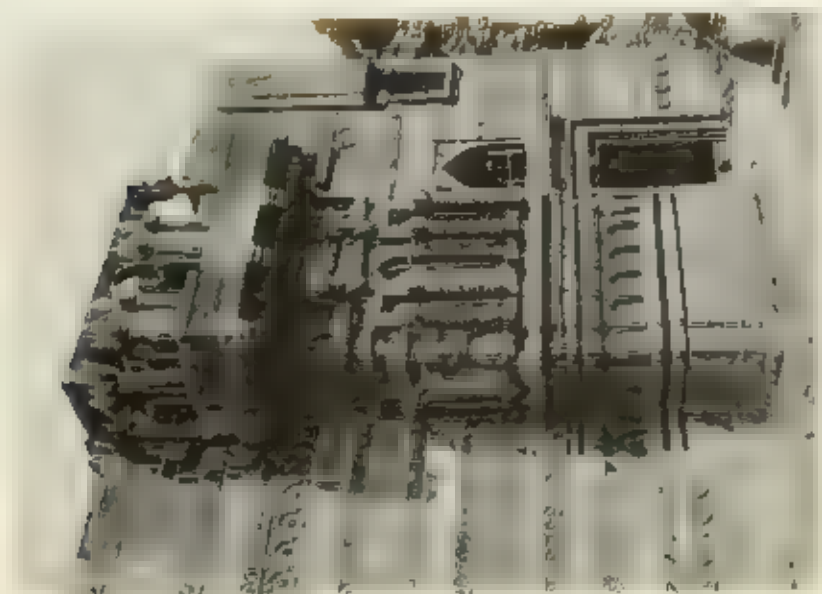


(7) GATEWAY TO THE TEMPLE OF THE GODDESS
AT NANTHANG, NEAR SHAN STATE

PLATE IX



10 MAHARAJA TAPA MAHAL ENCLASURE OF MIRZA
ISMAIL ZANANA PUNJAB No. 100
Vol. 4 1910



11 MAHARAJA AGRA EXTERIOR OF JAM
SHAH No. 101
Vol. 4 1910



(a) TATTA. INTERIOR OF THE JAMI MASJID. See p. 40

(10-11)

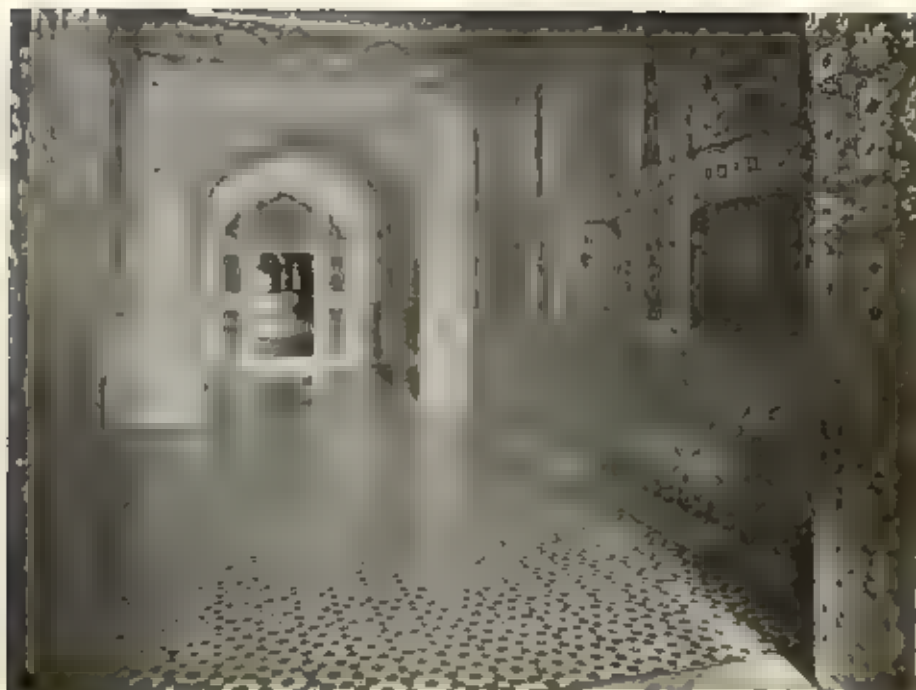


(b) RUHS. EXTERIOR OF THE MAIN GATE. See p. 41

(10-12)



THE CHATRAPATI SHIVAJI MAHARAJ GHAT THE SOUTH WEST CORNER See p. 84



(a) INTERIOR OF JABANG'S TOMB
No. 1027 measured



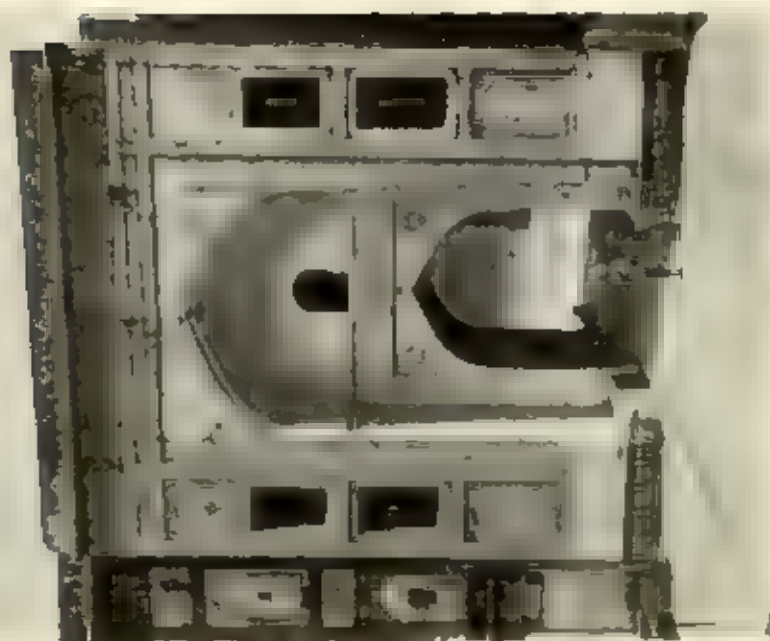
(b) INLAID MARBLE GRAVE OF JAHAN II
No. 1028



10 LAURENCE, THE SIJDA MAGAL HALL OF M. BROISE. See p. 80.
 (Scale 1/1000)



11 LAURENCE, DARGAH-E-DAVANI'S MOSQUE. See p. 80.
 (Scale 1/1000)



(A) INTERIOR OF THE GREAT MOSQUE, CAIRO, 1907. See p. 70.



(B) EXTERIOR OF THE GREAT MOSQUE, CAIRO, 1907. See p. 70.



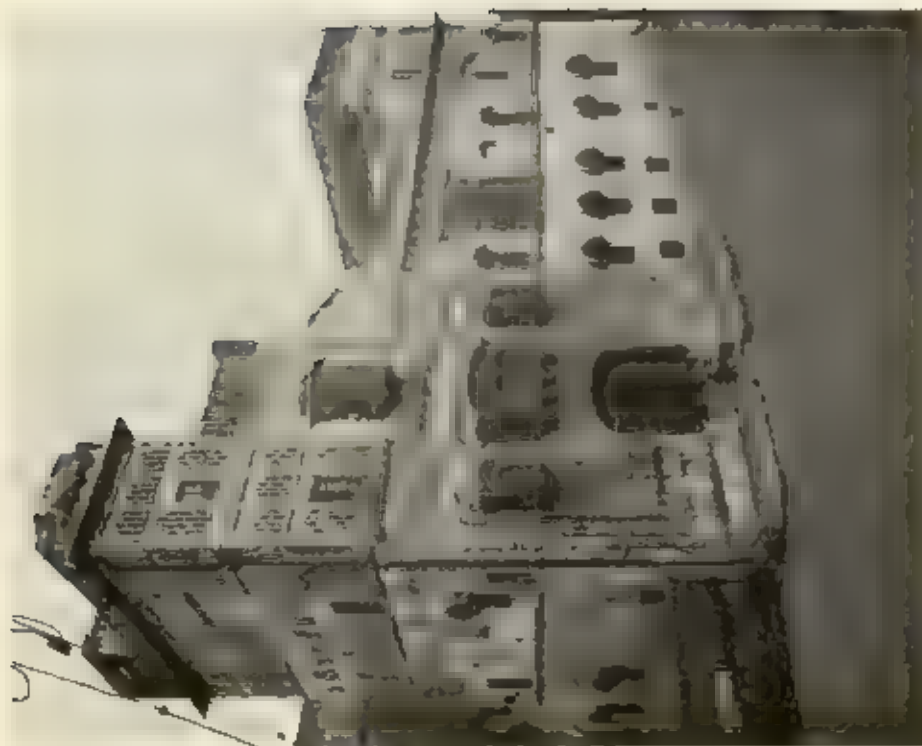
(a) LAHORE: THE RANIZAI KHAS MAHAL. See p. 89
A. R.



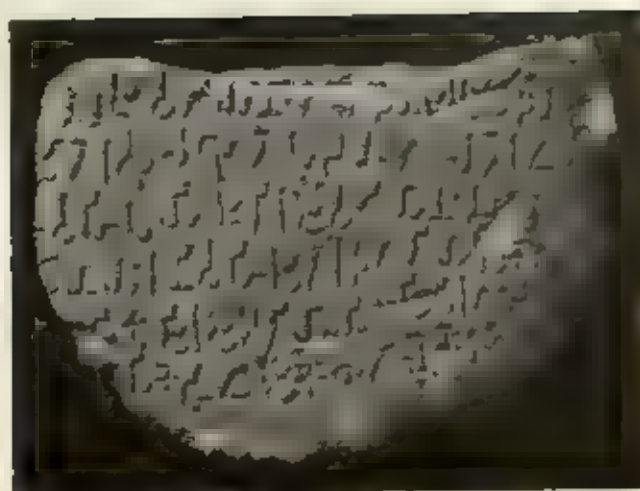
(b) LAHORE: THE BADSHAHI MOSQUE. See p. 92
A. R.



(1) LABO RE WOODEN TOWERA FORMERLY IN THE PALA-
CE NEW AN THER M—Siam 80 p 77
Pl. in p. 10. in 1890. 1891. 1892.



(2) LABO RE H—of PRIN E SAJ NHAL SINGH 80 p 77
Siam 80 p 77



(a) MAHASTHAN, EAST BENGAL. FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION

4 Aug. 1902

Pres. Anti. Soc. Bombay 11

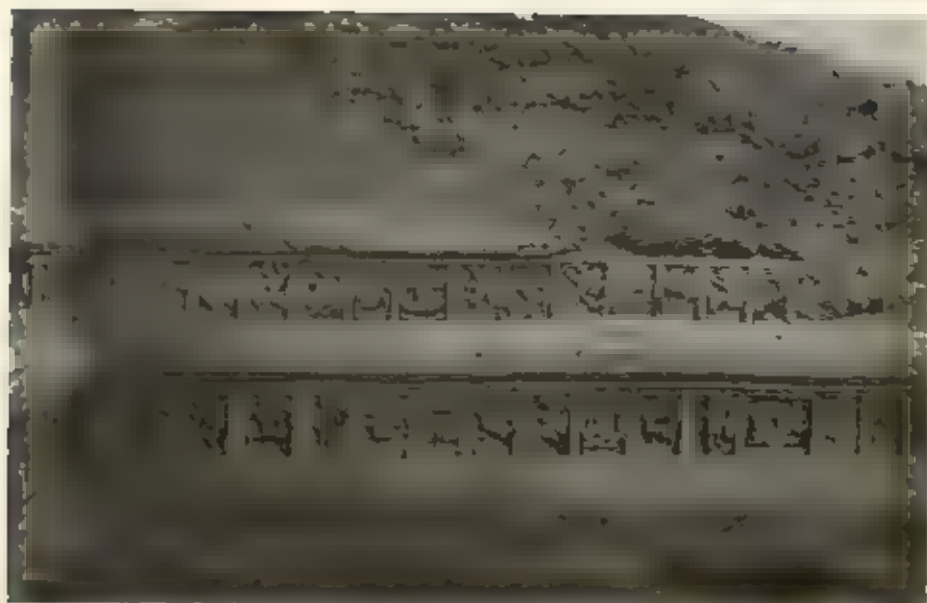
See p. 98



(b) MAHASTHAN. CELLULAR SUBSTRUCTURE OF A TEMPLE AT THE VILLAGE OF GOKUL

March 7th 1902

See p. 102



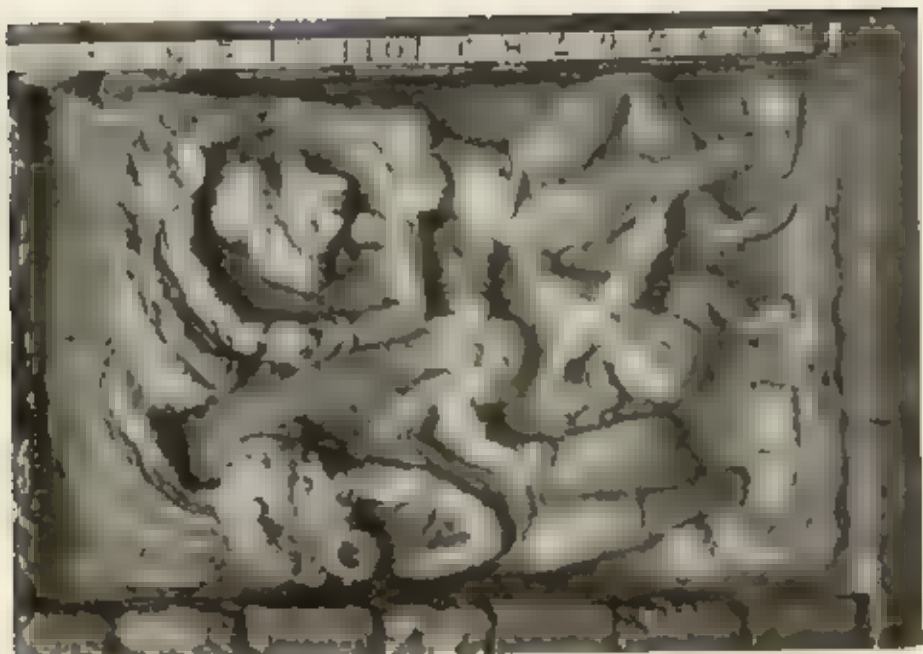
(1) ADARPUR, EAST BENGAL. TERRACOTTA PANELS ON THE EAST STÜPA.
XVIII CENTURY.



(2) PATTIKERÄ (COMILLA), EAST BENGAL. TERRACOTTA PANELS. I
XVIII CENTURY.



19) THE PADAMPAT PAQUE BE, PO
MAYANA AND KALINA
Argentine



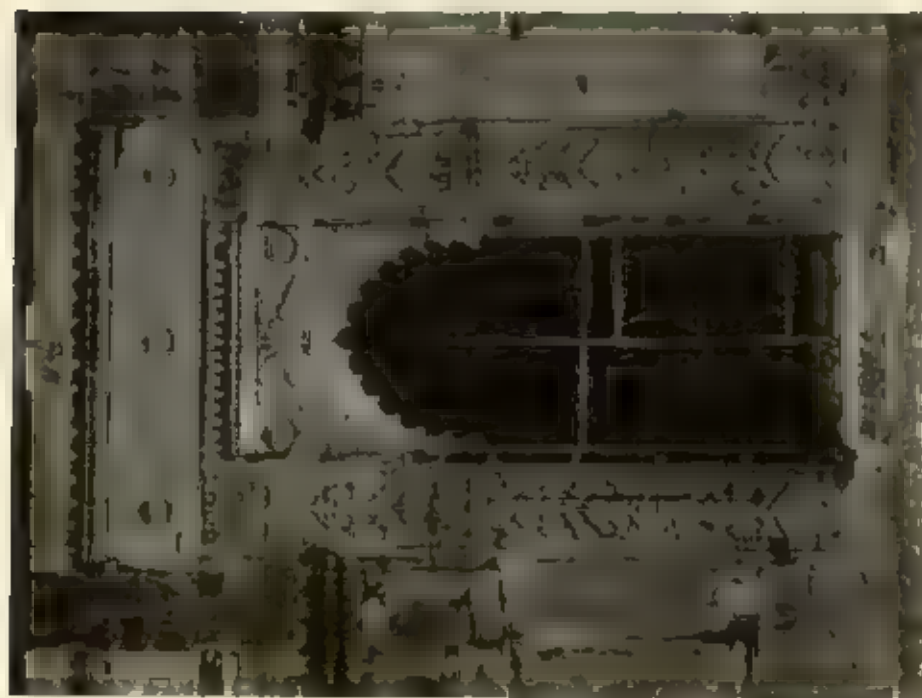
20) THE PADAMPAT PAQUE BE, PO
MAYANA AND KALINA
Argentine



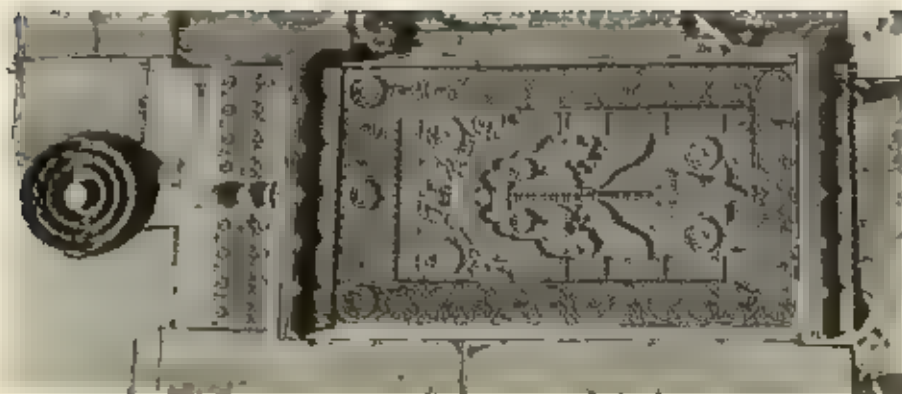
THE MOSQUE OF SAMARRA, IRAQ. (See also Plate XXV.)
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THE MOSQUE OF SAMARRA, IRAQ. (See also Plate XXV.)
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THE CENTRAL ENTRANCE OF THE CHITTASOONAMAHADEV TEMPLE




THE EXTERIOR OF THE CHITTASOONAMAHADEV TEMPLE

PLATE XXII



DACCA MOSQUE IN DACCALAH N. P. I.
68





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